

Gal 4. 5
AN
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY
OF
SCOTLAND,

FROM
THE FIRST APPEARANCE OF CHRISTIANITY
IN THAT KINGDOM,

TO
THE PRESENT TIME.

WITH
REMARKS
ON THE MOST IMPORTANT OCCURRENCES.

IN A SERIES OF LETTERS TO A FRIEND.

BY

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AT LONGSIDE, ABERDEENSHIRE.

VOLUME I.

L O N D O N :

PRINTED FOR T. EVANS, PATER-NOSTER ROW,
AND R. N. CHEYNE, EDINBURGH.
MDCCLXXXVIII.

6

ECOLOGICAL HISTORY

S. G. O. F. A. N. D.

THE ART AND HISTORY OF BRITAIN



AD
FILIIUM EPISCOPUM,

Quem adjuvet 'O Μίγας 'Αρχιεπisc,

AUCTORIS DEDICATIO.

ACCIPE, chare mihi duplici nunc nomine
amoris,
Et *Pater* officio, et sanguine *Nate*, mihi,
Accipe, sed facilis, quatuor collecta per annos
Quæ quondam licuit scripta vocasse Patris,
Parva quidem, sed non parvo congesta labore,
Atque utinam multo digna labore putes.
Non ego tanto operi satis apta iuvamina jacto
Qualia *Doctorum* commoda vulgus habet.
Non mihi facundæ vires, nec copia linguæ,
Nec thecas onerat lectio larga meas.
Rusticus, et pauper, libris peregrinus et aulis,
Vix mihi quæ placeant scribere digna queo.
At non spernendum forsan, nec inutile prorsus,
Hoc rudibus, quale est, inveniatur opus.
Fortè bonorum inter selecta volumina Fratrum
Implebit vacuum pagina nostra locum :
Nec deerit, spero, qui mei memor unus et alter
Colliget ex istis paucula mella favis.
Non famam Historici celebris, nec præmia capto :
Non honor ingenio convenit ille meo.
Fortè et epistolicum meritò metuenda laceissent
Verbere non parco critica flagra modum ;
At nostri moris modus hic, quo sæpius olim
Monstravit

Monstravit calamum charta pusilla meum.
 Quod potui, feci : Nec sum qui talia docti
 Sperarem laudes promeritura chori.
 Sit laus una mihi, sacram docuisse cohortem
 Quam, regit officii cura paterna tui.
 Quomodo ab antiquis parva hæc Ecclesia seclis
 Veniret ad nostras continuata manus,
 Pura quidem, depressa licet, contemptaque mundo,
 At Capiti in cælis charior inde suo :
 Hanc volui primæ tandem ad vestigia formæ
 Ductam per varias expoluisse vices.
 Pars fuit et voti, si quæ nunc fallere possem
 Arte senectutis tædia dura pigræ.
 Non solitum robur mihi nunc, nec, ut ante, labores
 Languida consuetos carpere membra valent.
 Diu mihi quo cani caput invasere capilli,
 Jamque supra decimum me tria lustra pre-
 munt.
 At manet ingenium, manet inconcussa facultas,
 Lassitiemque levans utilitatis amor.
 Qualia sunt, tu ne mediocria nostra recuses,
 Quicquid censuræ gens inimica dabit.
 Tu mihi consilium præbebas primus, opemque,
 Tu mihi scribendi suasor et auctor eras.
 Nunc igitur scripto solitum dignare favorem,
 Auxiliumque operi, quod potes, adde tuum.
 Sic plures per te liber hic numerabit amicos,
 Qui, sine te, parvi forsan habendus erit.
 Vive, vale, titulo diu post mea funera dignus
 Præsulis, et grato gratus et ipse gregi :
 Tuque mihi tamdiu solamen quale dedisti,
 Diu det solamen stirps tua tale *Tibi* !

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ERRATA IN VOL. I.

Page 29	Line 23	for "hifo" read "history."
37	— 19	for "England's" read "Scotland's."
47	— last	leave out the comma between Tiro and Prosper.
51	— 21	for "light" read "weight."
58	— 21	for "Politus" read "Positus."
77	— 19	for "Columbus" read "Columba's."
91	— 18	for "Eske" read "Uske."
104	— 22	for "name of their consecrations" read "names of "their consecrators."
107	— 23	for "mnnner" read "manner."
160	— 28-29	for "previous" read "precious."
173	— 5	for "on enlargement" read "an enlargement."
180	— 34	for "Elfinus" read "Etfinus."
195	— 1	for "of the head of the English Church" read "of "the English Church."
280	— 28	for "as well seculars" read "as well as seculars."
294	— 17	for "Innocent II." read "Innocent III."
297	— 2	for "Randulphus" read "Pandulphus."
332	— 17	for "ptactice" read "practice."
342	— 13	for "wordly" read "worldly."
343	— 28	for "displine" read "discipline."
351	— 8	for "Ball" read "Bull."
404	— 10	for "farher" read "father."
438	— 7-8	for "impetial" read "imperial."

LETTER I.

Introduction—General Description of Christianity, and its Progress—Origin and Antiquity of the Scots—Various and uncertain Accounts of both.

SIR,

BEFORE I enter on the task you have imposed upon me, I ought, if it were only in compliance with common form, to plead my insufficiency for it. However, as this, in many cases, is no more than form, I shall not take up your time with it; nor trouble you with a tedious apology for the many defects you will meet with, in this performance. In a work of such complicated labour, wherein I have hardly been able to satisfy myself, I can much less expect to give general satisfaction to others; especially when I see that so many able undertakers before me have failed in answering that expectation. One great difficulty presented itself at my first setting out: and that was, how to reconcile my regard for our national honour, with the opinion I find myself obliged to give of the authorities, on which is founded our claim to that high antiquity, and long list of kings, held forth by some as the peculiar glory of our nation.

It is indeed the ecclesiastical part of our history, which you seem to be most solicitous about: desirous, as you say you are, to discover *when* and

B *how*

LETTER
I.

LETTER *bow* Christianity was first introduced, and has been
 I. all along continued in this division of Britain,
 which has so long been known by the appellation of
Scotland. And certainly it is a laudable curiosity in
 any one who thinks Christianity a blessing, to wish
 for as much information as he can get, about the
 time *when*, and the means *whereby*, such a blessing
 was originally conveyed, and has been progressively
 handed down, to a people who are happy in the
 possession of it. The case is very different with respect
 to what is called *Natural Religion*, which, if
 there be such a thing, we are supposed to have entirely
 within ourselves, and need not be at any trouble to seek
 elsewhere for the beginning and progress of it. Perhaps
 the great fondness for that fanciful scheme, which has
 so much and so long prevailed, may be in some measure
 owing to this advantageous circumstance in its favour,
 that it costs no pains, and requires no laborious investigation
 to account for the way of coming by it. But *Christianity*
 is of a quite different construction: and the specialities
 of it, which are many and wonderful, could never have
 been known, nor the benefits of it enjoyed, by mankind,
 without being first published and continually conveyed,
 from some quarter, and by some means exterior to
 ourselves. So these things become a very proper object
 of search and examination, to all who have that regard
 for our holy religion, which the importance of it
 deserves. As a person who finds himself in possession
 of a good estate, will not only think it necessary to
 know the extent and profits of it, as presently
 possessed by him, but will also wish to learn at what
 time, and by what conveyance it came first to his
 ancestors, and through what intermediate steps,
 the succession to it has devolved upon him: so is
 the

the case with regard to the benefits of Christianity LETTER I.
 which by those who have a just sense of them
 will always be esteemed a most valuable possession:
 not purchased by our own industry, but derived o-
 riginally from an *Author*, and conveyed down to
 our times by ways and means of that Author's own
 appointment, and under the direction of his provi-
 dental care. It is therefore well worth our while
 to inquire into, and get ourselves as much acquaint-
 ed as possible with these particulars; which if not
 absolutely necessary to be universally known, yet
 when known, must be acknowledged to be both en-
 tertaining and edifying.

Now as to the time *when* that noble scheme of
 Religion, distinguished by the name of *Christianity*,
 made its first appearance in the world, and *how* and
where it was originally published, we have suffi-
 cient information from these cotemporary records,
 which we all receive as authentic. From these we
 learn, that the knowledge of a CHRIST actually
 come for the salvation of mankind, in accomplish-
 ment of the old promises of a CHRIST to come, was
 notified, some more than 1700 years ago, to a
 small corner of the earth, where the old people of
 God dwelt, and from thence, was after Christ's
 ascension published, or in sacred style preached, to
 some of the neighbouring nations, by particular
 persons called *Apostles*, peculiarly chosen, authori-
 tatively commissioned, and properly enabled by
 CHRIST, for that purpose. All this is what every
 professor of Christianity is more or less acquainted
 with, as the scripture history which all have, or
 ought to have in their hands, goes thus far. But
 if we inquire farther, *when* or *how* this or that par-
 ticular nation, or kingdom or people, especially
 in these northern parts of the Gentile world to

LETTER I. which we belong, was first blest with the salutary and illuminating influence of the Gospel, here we feel ourselves greatly at a loss, for want of sufficient direction, and therefore seem less desirous to push the inquiry so far as might be expected. Yet though we cannot attain to such entire satisfaction as results from irrefragable evidence, when we wish to trace the first dawns of the evangelical light in our land, we may still meet with some very agreeable discoveries, and be able to form such rational conclusions, as will pave the way towards further researches, till we come to an era of facts, ascertained by the consentient testimony of uncontroverted documents.

This is all that can be expected on the subject before us, and in this expectation I would endeavour to gratify you, if it were possible, without entering into, or even touching at, any thing relative to our original as a nation. But to avoid this is hardly possible. For the various accounts of our first civil constitution, under the several forms in which it is represented, are so connected with, and interwoven through, the little ecclesiastical intelligence we have to depend on; and our conversion to Christianity puts on so many different appearances, according to the different schemes and eras of our national settlement, that there is really no separating them from one another, or in other words, there is no possibility of sketching out a history of our early church, without examining the history of our early state likewise. And this it is which so much straitens me, and embarrasses any attempt to arrive at the least degree of certainty in these matters.

I am abundantly sensible how much it makes for the honour of our nation to sustain the modern accounts of our high antiquities; and to carry our monarchy as far back as the old heathen Fergus,
son

son of Ferchard, three hundred years and more before the Incarnation. But however much I feel for the dignity of my country, I cannot digest so many gross improbabilities as appear on the face of this favourite hypothesis, nor bring myself to believe such a doubtful, and unauthenticated detail, even after all the pains that a Boece, or a Buchanan has taken to put it together, and set it off. In this too I am warranted by no less authority than that of the famed Buchanan himself, who, however much prejudiced and partial in some things, was undoubtedly an able master in critical knowledge. In his preliminary dissertations, prefixed to his history, I meet with these two excellent rules for the trial and better discovery of genuine, and false antiquities, "That it is a great presumption against the truth of any relation, when the first reporters live at a great distance from the times wherein the facts are said to have happened." And, "That where modern historians differ from the antient Romans in matters transacted in the days of their first Emperors, we are not rashly to believe them." By these two rules if we examine the current of the Scottish histories, we shall often find ourselves involved in a cloud of uncertainty, where we would wish to meet with the greatest clearness. At the same time, though I thus hesitate about admitting the finely polished descriptions which Boece has given us of these early times, unknown to his predecessor Fordun, and differently represented by his successor Buchanan, yet I cannot altogether agree to the degrading system adopted by Archbishop Usher, Bishop Stillingfleet, and sundry others, who would make us believe that because no Roman writer mentions the Scots by name, till about 360 years after Christ, when Ammianus Marcellinus speaks of them, there-

LETTER
I.

LETTER

I.

Rer. Scot.
lib. 2.
Britannia.
Scoti.

Introduc-
tion to the
late edition
of Fordun,
cap. 10.
Critical Es-
say, p. 514.

therefore there was no such people any where in Britain till that time. In confutation of which way of arguing I do not insist on the disputable passage in Seneca's Satire on the death of the Emperor Claudius, whether the Brigantes mentioned there should be read Scotobrigantes, as Buchanan after the younger Scaliger would have it, or Scutabrigantes, as Camden on the faith of all the copies reads it. Neither do I think it material whether what S. Jerom in his letter to Ctesiphon quotes of Porphyry, naming the *Scottish* nations in his books written in the year 267, be Porphyry's own words, as Mr Goodall contends, or only St Jerom's own way of expressing Porphyry's sentiment, as Mr Tho. Innes endeavours to demonstrate. The principal argument which weighs with me is, that the same objection will hold against another remarkable nation, whom these very writers acknowledge to have been early inhabitants of the north of Britain, and from whom I doubt not but many of the inhabitants of what is now called Scotland are descended: I mean the people known by the name of *Picts*, or, as the vulgar call them, *Peghts*, who are not spoken of under that name, by any Roman writer, much before the Scots, and whom not only Buchanan, but even Camden, and the other opposers of the Scotch antiquities acknowledge to have been the Caledonians, who fought so bravely against the Roman general Agricola, and gave the Emperor Severus himself so much trouble about an hundred years after.

It may therefore be supposed that *Caledonians* was a general name for all the tribes or clans on the north side of the friths of Forth and Clyde, under various chieftains, and perhaps under various forms of government, sometimes at war with one another,

another, and sometimes uniting together against any common enemy or invader. Certain it is, that Cæsar, and the other Roman writers describe the old inhabitants of what is now called England in this very manner, as distinguished among themselves by various appellations of Trinobantes, Belgæ, Icenî, &c. but uniting in any common cause, under the general designation of *Britons*. So we read of the Suevi, on the great continent of Germany, a powerful and warlike people, and made up of a number of inferior tribes, under particular names, and of particular characters. It is highly probable that the case was the same with the old Caledonians. And if, upon this supposition, one of these many tribes, perhaps the greatest and most conspicuous of them, began in process of time, and upon a nearer acquaintance, to be distinguished by the Romans under the denomination of *Picti*, from their continuing the custom of painting their bodies, as is the common opinion, or which is as likely, from some other peculiarity about them, which in their language might bear some affinity to the Latin inflection, why may we not conclude that some such peculiarity in another tribe of these Caledonians, might also have given rise to the Latin name of *Scoti**? You know the chi-

LETTER
I.

* In support of this conjecture, there is a similar explication to be found in Carion's chronicle, as published by Peucer, B. 4. of three of the Germanic nations, whom Pliny and other Roman chorographers mention under the Latinized names of *Ingevones*, *Istevones*, & *Vandali*; that the Ingevones were the Indigenæ, or old indwellers, from the German word *Inwoner*, which signifies to dwell in; the Vandali denoted travellers, either foreigners or merchants, from the German *wandelen*, to wander, and the Istevones were the West-dwelling people, from the German, *Westwoner*, and whose country to this day is called Westphalia. It is certain, the Romans used to bring the

merical

LETTER

I.

Lib. I.
Cap. 7.

merical fancy of the Scots getting their name from the old Egyptian lady *Scota*, which once made such a figure in our chronicles, is now justly exploded, since Buchanan treated it with deserved ridicule. But when we are told, that the Scots came originally, either to Ireland or Britain, out of *Scythia*, and were therefore called *Scyths* or *Scots*, and arguments are brought forward to justify this, from the British and German language, is there not room to object against this derivation, and to ask why the *Picts* were not called *Scots* too, since the Saxon Historian *Bede*, who wrote a thousand years ago, gives it as the current tradition in his time, that the *Picts* came directly from *Scythia*, and consequently had as good a title to the name of their old country as any others. But the truth is, I lay no stress, either on the argument or the objection. Neither should I think it material to our present business to go through all the different and irreconcilable accounts of the origin of the Scots, or of the country from which they first came into Britain, if the opinion commonly received were not made such a handle of, to raise a confusion in our ecclesiastical inquiries, and perplex us about the time and method of our earliest conversion to the Christian faith. But this being the case, there is a necessity of inquiring a little into this vulgar opinion, and examin-

native names or distinctions of the several people whom they conquered, as near as they could to the grammar of their own language; and there are few of these barbarous names of men or nations in *Cæsar*, *Tacitus*, &c. but have a proper meaning in the respective languages of the several nations, though none at all in the language of their Roman conquerors. So has the case been, in all probability, with the *Picts* and *Scots*, who are the two Northern nations of Britain best known to the Romans, and whom I take to have been two divisions, and these the most conspicuous, of the so famous *Caledonians*.

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ing the grounds on which it seems to be founded. LETTER

I.

You know the current belief is, that the Scots are of Irish extraction, and came over from Ireland three hundred and thirty years before the Incarnation, say some; five hundred years after it, say others. So here is a difference of no less than eight hundred and odd years: Consequently both accounts cannot be right: But both may be wrong. Only in this they agree, that both bring the Scots from Ireland. Yet there is no absolute certainty of Ireland being the mother country of the Scots in Britain, any more than there is of Britain being the mother country of the people of Ireland. The argument from the sameness of language amongst the Irish and old Scots, which has the appearance of some weight in it, says no more for the one side of the question, than for the other. If it be urged, as is always done, that our oldest chronicles all concur in bringing the Scots out of Ireland, it should be remembered, that these same chronicles give the ridiculous story of Gathelus and Scota, with all that train of incoherent nonsense which latter ages have discarded. Why then should their authority be more sacred in one part, than in another? But it will be said, that the most antient writers extant speak of Ireland, as being the country of the Scots, and Archbishop Usher is positive that the present Scotland was never called by that name for some hundred years after Christ. But what authority, we might ask, have they for this assertion? Do any of the old Roman writers speak of the Scots in Ireland? They frequently mention them in Britain; and as making no little figure in that country: but of their connection with Ireland they say nothing. Indeed Ireland was little known to the Romans: their

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arms

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LETTER arms never penetrated into it. And Camden la-
 I. ments it as a misfortune to Ireland, that the Ro-
 man government had not civilized it. There is a
 passage in the poet Claudian's panegyric on the
 4th consulate of the Emperor Honorius, much laid
 hold of by the favourers of the Irish claim, in which
 the poet brings in "the frosty Ierne bewailing the
 "heaps of the slaughtered Scots*:" Which, say
 these writers, is a clear proof of Ireland being the
 mother-country of the Scots. But the late ingeni-
 ous Mr Walter Goodall has gone a great way, if
 not to demonstrate, at least to make it highly pro-
 bable, that the *Ierne*, or *Juerna* of the antients
 did not, and could not signify the present Ireland,
 but by their description of it, must have meant the
 northern parts of what is now called Scotland.
 And if we are to reason from probability in an af-
 fair of this nature, there is, if not more, yet fully
 as much to be said for the supposition of the Scots
 going out of Britain into Ireland, as for their com-
 ing out of Ireland into Britain. For if Britain was
 originally peopled from the opposite continent of

See his Dif-
 fertation,
 &c.

* "Quid rigor æternus cœli, quid fidera profunt ?

"Ignotumque fretum? maduerunt Sæxone fuso

"Orcades: Incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thule;

"*Scottorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne.*

"But Claudian," as an ingenious writer observes, "indulged
 "all the wantonness of a poetical fancy in this panegyric. It
 "was the poet's imagination only, that warmed Thule with
 "Pictish blood, moistened the sands of Orkney with Saxon
 "gore, and thawed the frozen Ierne into tears, for the slaugh-
 "ter of the Scots." M'Pherson's introduction to the history
 of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 115. "It is idle, he adds, to
 "search for fact in the hyperboles of poetry. Latinus Paca-
 "tius, tho' a panegyrist likewise on the same subject, says no
 "more than *the Scot was driven back to his native fens.* Re-
 "dactum in paludes suas Scottum." Latin. Pacat. in Panegyr.
 Theodos

Gaul,

Gaul, as is generally admitted, and is most consonant to the scheme of peopling the earth countenanced by revelation, it may naturally be supposed that after the new colonies had explored and spread over the whole of this island, they would from some motive or other, be induced to try a passage over the narrow sea between them and Ireland, and gradually, at different times, and in different numbers, make settlements in that island next. This is surely more likely, than that the first planters of Ireland should have come from Spain, through the dangerous and tempestuous Bay of Biscay, which is so formidable to our navigators, even at this day.

It is truly surprising to find even such writers as reject the story of Gathelus and Scots, and seem inclined to derive the pedigree of the Scots, either from the Scythians, or the Celtæ (whom the Abbé Pezron shews to have been the founders of most of the western nations of Europe) yet all agreeing in the strange idea of carrying these old progenitors, whether Scyths or Celts, by a tedious kind of perambulation, first into Spain, then to Ireland, and at last into the northern parts of Britain. Thus Buchanan, when he speaks of "colonies going from Gaul to Ireland," carries them first to Spain, and then assigns some plausible reasons for their migrating to Ireland—as if the same reasons might not as naturally have led them first to Ireland, either directly by navigation, or through the adjacent lands of Britain. So Camden, in tracing the Scots from the Scythians, is at no small pains to find Scythians in Spain; because, says he, "the Scots will not be pleased, unless they be brought out of Spain into Ireland." While at the same time, in accounting for the original of the other

LETTER
I.

Rer. Scot.
Lib. II.

Camd.
Brit. Scoti.

LETTER I. inhabitants of North Britain, the Picts, such writers make no scruple to land them directly out of Scythia, either upon the coast of Ireland with Bede, or in the north of Britain with Buchanan. And why might not the Scots have been brought over in the same way? I see nothing to hinder it, but the impression made on the minds of our historians, by the old exploded notion of giving the Scots a Spanish original, and obliging them to come by Ireland to the possession of their own country. It is probably owing to some prejudice of the same kind, that those who reject the fabulous antiquities of Ireland, and produce unquestionable authorities for so doing, yet are willing to believe the Irish, as far back as they believe any thing concerning them, to have been one people, of one language, under one sovereign, and one form of government, while at the same time, the southern parts of Britain, about which we are much better informed, were broken into jarring interests, among various tribes, and under contending leaders. We have reason to suppose that the case was the same in Ireland, since as far down as St. Patrick's time, which was more than four hundred years after Christ, there were several Princes, or Kings, in that country, independent of, and warring with, one another, some of them friendly to, and some of them opposing the Saint, in his great work of converting the people.

From this and sundry other circumstances, I think it may reasonably be inferred, that the Irish in general had not been originally of one stock, or at one time settled in their country, but had come over from the nearest lands of Britain, at different times, and on different occasions. There seems to have been long a close correspondence, as if arising from

from consanguinity, between the inhabitants of the north of Ireland, now called Ulster, and those of the opposite coasts of Scotland: And it is well known that any remarkable intelligence we have of the transactions of the old Scots is taken out of the Annals of Ulster, written partly in Irish, partly in Latin characters, and continuing from the year 448 to 1041. The chieftain or King of the British Scots appears also to have retained a sovereignty over the Ulster colony, and to have been *Rex Scotorum*, King of the Scots (the well known title of our monarchs) in both islands, as Camden tells us of a Divitiacus, who was King of the Belgæ, both in Gaul and Britain, and lived before Cæsar. Buchanan says expressly of the first Fergus, that he “went over to Ireland to quell an insurrection there, by his authority, and was drowned off Knockfergus,” now called Carrickfergus in Ulster. And still more to the point, the Archdeacon of Carlisle, in his *Scottish Historical Library*, quotes Bishop Leslie’s History, bearing that “when Henry VIII. took upon him the title of King of Ireland, it was much grumbled at by James V. who thought himself injured and encroached on, since for many ages the Northern parts of that kingdom had been possessed by Scots, who had ever owned themselves subjects of the Scottish Kings.” Yea even Mr. Thomas Innes himself, who after Archbishop Usher has laboured most strenuously to curtail the Scottish antiquities, acknowledges that the Scots had come in upon the old inhabitants of Ireland, and subdued them, as the Franks did to the Gauls, of which superiority he produces sundry instances. And these indeed plainly shew that the Scots were the masters, but do not prove from what part of the world

LETTER I.

Brittan.
Belgæ.

Rex. Scot.
Lib. IV.

C. vii.
P. 246.

Crit. Essay
P. 515-517.

LETTER world they came; though it is much more likely that such inroads were made from the nearest coasts of Britain, than from the distant countries of Scythia or Spain.

I.



But be this as it may, it is enough for our honour, if there be any honour in these things, that the Scots are confessedly an old nation, and have long made a figure in Europe, both as men and as christians. Though we are certain, they are descended from some one of the three sons of Noah, yet we suspect there is not a people in Europe, that can assuredly trace their descent, thro' all the intermediate revolutions of time, from the dispersion at Babel down to the present æra. And why should the Irish, whether they be our progenitors or not, pretend to this singular privilege, or the Scots give themselves much trouble, either to confirm or confute it? We have histories and chronicles of our antiquities as well as other nations have, and do boast of as early and long a standing, as any of them can pretend to, unless we except these our supposititious ancestors, of whom such romantic stories are told. I am not to examine as yet what use has been made of these relations, nor what designs some of our historians might have had in attempting to go so far back into the regions of fiction, as to lose all sight of authenticity. I shall only at present express my regret that they have gone so far on such flight grounds, and endeavoured to build such a specious structure, without a more solid foundation to rest upon. For however much such airy fabrics might have suited the public taste some centuries ago, and answered the ends they were then intended to serve, the *enlightened* age in which we live is not so submissively credulous, nor so very ready to yield

yield assent, but to something that looks like evidence.

I am, yours, &c.

LETTER II.

*Confused State of our earliest Scottish History—
Uncertain Account of our first Conversion to Christianity, as given by Fordun—Enlarged on by Boece and others—Characters and Inconsistencies of these Writers.*

IN examining the several accounts of that early LETTER II.
and obscure period of the Scottish history, to which we are now looking back, I find one strange defect running through the whole of them, which disappoints me not a little, and prevents the cordial reception which I might otherwise be inclined to give them. I see an established monarchy, and something like a hereditary succession of Kings, as continued from a Fergus son of Ferchard, to a Fergus, son of Erch, for more than seven hundred years. Under this government, I see a warlike and well regulated people, distinguished into Nobles and Plebeians, and transacting matters of state in as shrewd a way, and to as good purpose, as any of the present kingdoms or republics of Europe: Yet all the while I am not told where this people dwelt, in what place these Kings kept their court, what were the bounds of their kingdom, what territories

LETTER

II.

tories they possessed, and such other localities as it is impossible to read any real history with pleasure, without having some idea of. In romances indeed, or fairy tales, we do not expect such minute details; since the design neither requires nor admits them.

I can amuse myself with Ulysses and Circe, or with Telemachus and Calypso, without ever thinking about the geography of Circe's cave, or Calypso's grotto. But when I take up the Grecian or Roman histories, in the belief of the truth and reality of them, I immediately turn my thoughts to the respective scenes of every transaction, and can follow the historian thro' Greece and Italy, to Athens or Sparta, to Rome or Carthage, with some sort of order and precision. This I take to be an inseparable attendant on historical reading; and the want of it in our early history, as begun by Boece, and copied by Buchanan, is to me a great stumbling-block in the way of giving absolute credit to the otherwise well-told stories with which they have entertained us. On the other hand, I am not altogether satisfied with another class of dissertators, (for they have not as yet assumed the title of historians) who date the commencement of our monarchy from Fergus, son of Erch, some centuries after Christ, and attempt to give us some kind of account where and in what places of the island his kingdom lay, but have not told us who were the inhabitants of these places before, or whether they were waste when he and his people took possession of them. Such and so many, in a word, are the perplexities that occur in the way of unprejudiced inquiry into our antiquities, owing either to inaccuracy, or to a want of proper materials to go to work with, that one is at a loss how to behave, so as neither to be thought foolishly

foolishly credulous on the one hand, nor obstinately
sceptical on the other.

LETTER
II.

Yet, from a general view of the several criticisms
and collections drawn from the Roman writers
and others, this much may with great certainty be
gathered, that the part of Britain from the River
Tweed to the northern extremity of it, which has
for 900 years and upwards been called Scotland,
was, before that time, as far back as we know any
thing either certain or fabulous about it, of a dif-
ferent form from what it now exhibits, and parcel-
led out among various tribes of people, from what-
ever stock or country they had come into it. We
meet with the Picts in it as early and in as great re-
pute as the Scots; we find them, sometimes sepa-
rately, sometimes in conjunction with the Scots,
incroaching upon and harrassing the provinces
which the Romans had subdued in the southern
parts. We read of walls which the Romans were
obliged to raise, for securing their conquests from
these brave assertors of liberty and independence,
sometimes as far north as between the friths of
Forth and Clyde, when the Roman arms were
successful; at other times, when fortune did not fa-
vour them, between Carlisle and the river Tyne,
what lay to the north being left to the possession of
the northern tribes. Hence it happened, that the
countries which lay between these two Roman walls
were for a long tract of time in a very unsettled
state; and tho' now, and for many years back,
they have been the richest and most fertile parts of
Scotland, as having Edinburgh the metropolis of
the kingdom, and the flourishing city of Glasgow
within their limits, yet they were long in a most
miserable condition, as being still the seat of war
and devastation between their Roman masters and

D

Caledonian

LETTER II. Caledonian enemies, and therefore have been called, and very properly, by some late writers, the "*debateable lands*," possessed by a people whom the Roman historian Dio calls *Maatae*. In this fluctuating situation these continued all the time of the Roman power: and when on the decline of that unwieldy empire, the Saxons had got footing in Britain, the old contention was still kept up. At last the fugitive Britons forced a kind of settlement to themselves along the western coast, from the Solway Frith towards Alcluit, now Dumbarton, which subsisted for some time, till, partly by conquest, partly by agreement, it fell under the Pictish yoke, and from that, upon the union of the Pictish and Scottish monarchies in the person of Kenneth Macalpin, came to be a part of what is called Scotland, by the name of Galloway, as the eastern division, after many struggles between the Picts and the Saxons, did at the same time and in the same way, by the name of Lodonesia or Lothian.

This is the only view we can form of our country of Scotland for some hundreds of years, and all that can, with any appearance of certainty, be collected out of the many various, and sometimes opposite relations which we meet with of these times in the Roman, Saxon, or British writers. I own it is but a confused view at best: But we must take it as we find it: for these were confused times in general, and our country was not singular. The south part of Britain was in no better state, either under the Roman Emperors or Saxon usurpers: And tho' for some short space after the full settlement of the Roman government in it under the Emperor Severus, till towards the decay of their grandeur in the time of Honorius, which cannot be

be reckoned at much above 200 years, that country now called England, enjoyed some kind of rest, and was in some measure refined and cultivated by the Roman polity, yet even there and then there is not that clearness and regularity of history to be found, which gives satisfaction to the inquisitive and impartial mind.

LETTER
II.

Now when we find our civil history involved in such a cloud of darkness and uncertainty, what can be expected of perspicuity and order about ecclesiastical matters? Yet our historians affect to be as precise and distinct about our conversion to Christianity, and their accounts of that remarkable event are as implicitly received by some, and as peremptorily accommodated to some particular scheme by others, as if every thing about it was plain and clear, and undeniably attested by the most certain and irrefragable evidence. Let us take a view of the modern accounts of those early times, and see how far, by the common rules of examination, they can bear the test of a candid and serious scrutiny. I call them modern accounts: For we have none extant that can be called antient. And one should think this might raise some suspicion at the very entrance, especially in a point of such pretended antiquity and acknowledged importance.

The first historical intelligence of our original conversion we owe to John Fordun, a Priest of the diocese of St. Andrews, and Chaplain of the church of Aberdeen, who lived in the time of the Kings Robert II. and III. and compiled the history of the Scots in five books, bringing it down to the death of King David I. in 1153; which, with continuations by other hands to the death of James I. in 1437, is commonly known by the title

LETTER II. of *Scotichronicon*, or The Scots Chronicle. Now all he says on the subject is, that, "in the 7th year of the Emperor Severus, Victor, the first of the name, and fourteenth after St. Peter, an African, and son of one Felix, sat in the Papal chair ten years, two months and twelve days: Under him the Scots received the christian faith in the year of our Lord 203." He then gives us the well known verses which he says were current in his day,

Scotichr.
Lib. ii.
cap. 40.

*Christi transactis tribus annis atque ducentis,
Scotia catholicam cepit habere fidem;*

Crit. Essay
p. 204.

as agreeing with the above account, but enters no further into particulars. Yet we are told of this same historian, "that in order to qualify himself for his design, he spared neither labour nor diligence, but travelled over all Scotland, searching every where the libraries, churches, monasteries, colleges, universities, and towns, gathering together all the remains he could meet with to his purpose, discoursing also with learned men that were versed in history, and not content with that, it is said he travelled into England and Ireland upon the same search, setting down carefully the informations he received, as materials for what he intended." Notwithstanding all which, we find his account of these old times very lame and imperfect: No mention of what the first forty Kings did, not so much as their names, except three or four of them: Yea he plainly owns, "that from the first Fergus son of Ferchard to Fergus son of Erch inclusive, forty five kings of the same nation and stock had reigned in this island, but he could not at present say much about them, for he had found nothing fully concerning them." Accordingly what he gives us of the first

Scotichr.
Lib. iii.
cap. 2.

first reception of the Christian faith is very general, only specifying the year and the name of the then Pope, but mentioning nothing of the Pope's having any hand in it, or giving any orders about it: Agreeably to what he says afterwards, "For, as we said before, Scotland received the faith anno 203, præsidente Papa Victore primo, when Victor the first was Pope, but it was afterwards enlarged and renewed by Palladius†," &c. Thus what he had found of our early conversion does not go a great length, nor lay a great foundation for much to be believed or said about it. But we shall soon see it enlarged upon, and wrought up into a more showy and conspicuous form.

Scotichr.
Lib. iii.
cap. 8.

About one hundred and forty years after Fordun, came out Hector Boece's history of Scotland, in the year 1526: He was born in Dundee, and after having commenced Master of Arts in the university of Paris in 1494, was made Canon of Aberdeen, and Principal of the university which the good Bishop Elphinston had lately founded in Old Aberdeen, his Episcopal seat. Now in this history Boece tells us, "Under the reign of Severus, Donald king of the Scots by his ambassadors ob-

Boeth. Hist.
Lib. vi.

† What intelligence he had got about Pope Victor seems to have been but fallacious, as he makes him present at a council held at Cæsarea in Palestine about Easter, along with Theophilus of Cæsarea, and Narcissus the Patriarch, as he calls him, of Jerusalem, which is not likely, and differs from Eusebius, who says that at that time A. 196, Victor held a council at Rome. By the bye, this mistake of Fordun's, as it certainly is a mistake, lets us see that in his day it was not thought strange for a Pope to attend at even Provincial councils in the Eastern church, and that too without any particular degree of pre-eminence, for he only says that Victor "interfuit" was present, not "præfuit" presided in the council.

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LETTER

II.



Usher de
Prim. Brit.
Eccl.
cap. 15.

Nich. Scot.
Hist. Libr.
p. 208.

“ tained from Pope Victor, that learned and religi-
 “ ous men should be sent into Scotland, to baptize
 “ him, with his wife and children: The Scottish no-
 “ bility followed the King’s example, renounced
 “ their old infidelity, and embracing the religion of
 “ Christ, were washed in the holy laver: This was
 “ done in the year of Christ 293, from the crea-
 “ tion of the world 5399, and 533 from the be-
 “ ginning of the Scottish kingdom.” Here we
 have Fordun’s short hint improved upon and swel-
 led out into a larger size: But as yet we know
 nothing of the persons employed in this great
 work, what character they had, or what were their
 names. This was an addition which Boece, it
 seems, would not venture upon: But about a hund-
 red years after, the Popish Biographer Dempster
 our countryman had more courage, and expressly
 says, that “ Fordun was of opinion that one Pas-
 “ chasius a Sicilian, at the command of Pope Vic-
 “ tor, first preached the Christian faith in Scot-
 “ land, and converted such vast numbers, that
 “ there were scarce enough of Priests to bap-
 “ tize the people: And that Paschasius leaving his
 “ companions in Scotland to continue the work,
 “ returned to Rome, and in King Donald’s name
 “ thanked the Pope for the great favour he had
 “ done them: All which he found in an old book
 “ of the church of Lismore, which was reckoned
 “ the metropolis of all the Scottish churches.” It
 is true this tale of Dempster’s is not much laid hold
 of, as the man’s character was none of the most
 creditable, being one of whom it is said that “ he
 “ was as well inclined to believe a lie as any man
 “ in his time, and as well qualified to put it into a
 “ pretty dress.” I only mention it to shew by what
 steps it is possible to go on with a story, and make
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what we please out of any thing. We have seen **LETTER II.** Fordun only naming the Pope in whose time the conversion was begun : But Boece goes a step further, and particularizes the King who applied to the Pope for it, which Fordun had not done, and by his own account could not do. So Boece must have all the glory of this important discovery: And if it were not that a mighty stress has been laid upon it, and conclusions drawn from it to serve the ends of a party, which I believe Boece never had in his eye, it might be past over like many other historical flourishes, without taking much notice of it. But when this bare assertion is built up into a regular system, and comparisons with after times stated and invidiously enlarged upon, it is proper and pertinent to enquire into it, and see what kind of foundation it has to rest upon.

I do not charge Boece with having been the inventor of it. I take him to have been a good man in the main, but very credulous and easy to be imposed upon by people of cunning and design : And there might have been design in the invention of this story. The competition for honour and antiquity might have started the thought of an embassy from a Scottish Donald to Pope Victor, to balance the English boast of a correspondence between a British Lucius and Pope Eleutherius, as readily as it had produced the fancy of Scota and Gathelus to boast of against the British Brutus and his companions, the one of these stories for the dignity of the church, the other for that of the state. These ages were fertile in tricks of this kind : As may be seen in the processes before the Popes between Edward I. of England and the Estates of Scotland, about his claim of superiority over this kingdom, and in the contention at Constance in

LETTER
II.

1417, between the Orators of England and France, and at Basil in 1434 between those of Spain and England, about the pre-eminence of their respective churches; in all which cases there are produced on both sides such poor, pitiful arguments from traditionary or forged legends, and these too pled upon, and questions decided by them with the greatest gravity, that the present age would be ashamed of such a procedure. It is not improbable that this might have been the case here, and Boece been only the publisher of a plausible tale made ready by some means or other to his hand: And from what he has discovered of himself in his history, he seems to have had a pleasure in amplifying and expatiating upon, whatever he found or thought remarkable in other writers. Of this I shall only adduce two instances: In his relation of the mission from the monastery of Hy to convert the Northumbrians, tho' he positively says he follows Bede as his only guide in that affair, yet he puts a speech into Aidan's mouth on that occasion of the length of twenty six long lines, which Bede had comprehended in six very short ones. So much did the man love to magnify what he met with, and to seize every opportunity of displaying his speech-making talent. But the other instance is still more remarkable. In the account which Bede gives of the dispute which the two Gallican Bishops Germanus and Lupus had with the Pelagians in Britain, and of the victory they gained over them, he concludes the narration in the very words of Constantius of Lyons, an older writer, who wrote the life of Germanus, thus, "The vanity of the Pelagians was convicted, their perfidy confuted, so that, by their not being able to answer the opposite arguments, they

Boeth. Hist.
Lib. 9.

Bede Lib. i.
cap. 17.

Usher Pri.
Lib. 11.

" ac-

“ acknowledged their guilt; and the people that
 “ were present could scarcely keep off their hands, LETTER II.
 “ but they all testified their judgment of the con-
 “ test by their shouting.” Now Boece, in handling this affair, makes a flaming addition to this conclusion; “ the debate, he says, between the Pelagians and the Orthodox continued many days, but when the Pelagians could not resist, and the company judged their cause lost, such of them as would not retract their opinions, were delivered over to the Magistrates, and burnt: And the rest being put to penance by the authority of the Prelates, were received into favour.” The burning of Heretics had not been in practice when Constantius and Bede wrote: But in Boece’s day it was become familiar, and he would think himself warranted to use the expression. This shews his humour of complying with, and fashioning his narration to, his own times, which is a character given him not only by the Protestant Archdeacon of Carlisle, but even by one of his own communion, Mr. Thomas Innes, upon the score of principle with respect to state matters.

Boeth. Hist.
Lib. 8.

Nich. Scot.
Hist. Lib.
p. 106-114:
Crit. Essay
p. 289.

Here too I cannot but observe, that however favourable this story of Pope Victor may seem to the Popish cause, I do not find the writers on that side so fond of it as might have been expected, and as some of another party would make us believe they are. For the great annalist Baronius, tho’ he admits the story of Lucius and Eleutherius, which indeed there is some more ground for, rejects our story as not being mentioned by Marianus, nor Bede, nor St. Jerome: And their ecclesiastical historian the Abbe Fleury takes not the least notice of it, in his accounts either of Victor

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LETTER tor or Zephyrinus, tho' he mentions the affair of

II. Lucius and Eleutherius: And when such eminent
 writers on that side shew it so little respect, we
 need not much mind what use others of less note
 may make of it. But I cannot help being sur-
 prised at the way in which some of the Prote-
 stant writers handle it. Buchanan indeed is mo-
 dest enough about it: All he says on the subject
 is, that "Donald was the first of the Scottish

Buch. Hist.
 Lib. 4. in
 R. 27.

"Kings who embraced the Christian rites, tho'
 "neither he nor his next successors, even with the
 "assistance of a great part of the nobility, could
 "quite abolish the old idolatry." He was too
 discerning to put up with Boece's story of Victor,
 but he could not, for reasons of his own, part with
 that of Donald; and he no doubt found it for the
 purpose he had in view at the time of his writing,
 to make a christian of him. But I do wonder that
 such historians as Archbishop Spotswood and
 others, who reject the application to Victor, be-
 cause of a little chronological mistake of six years,
 and some other apparent incongruities which could
 easily be removed, should yet admit the conver-
 sion of K. Donald, and all the consequences of it.

I do not think that this is quite fair, to admit
 one part of a man's story and reject another, when
 we have no authority, but that man's testimony
 for either. For I ask, what authority there is for
 this story of K. Donald's conversion? And if it
 shall be answered, which indeed is all the answer
 that can be given, that honest Hector Boece has
 said so, it immediately occurs that Boece founds
 it upon the application to the Pope; and why not
 receive the one part of the honest man's story as
 well as the other? Certainly equity requires this:
 And if the improbabilities which arise from the

time

time and character of Victor tend only to shew that Boece, or his authors might have been mistaken : Why not allow a possibility of mistake in the other part too, and reject Donald as well as the Pope? That there was such a Pope, we are sure from unquestionable documents : Fordun had mentioned him before Boece, and many a creditable writer before Fordun : But the existence of K. Donald is, for ought we have seen to the contrary, altogether Boece's own production, and the great chasm of thirteen hundred years between the fact and the historian, without any intervening document that we know of to originate or support it, is but an unfavourable circumstance for the story in any part of it. Boece does indeed amuse us with a Veremundus, as the fountain of all his ancient intelligence, whom, he says, he rather chuses to follow in his account of these old times than Geoffry of Monmouth, which indeed is no great compliment to his author's veracity, nor to his own judgment, as that Geoffry is justly reckoned the most fabulous of all the British writers. But this does not remove the difficulty: For even this Veremundus, if ever there was such a man, as being it is said, Archdeacon of St. Andrews in the year 1076, eight hundred years and more after Donald and Victor, is by far too young a voucher for an affair of such consequence.— Neither have we any certainty but Boece's own word, for the contents of this history of Veremundus: And the suspicions which himself has raised in people's minds of his inclination to invent, and to magnify what relates to his country at the expence of truth, do not leave us at liberty to trust his word implicitly, or believe him to be always a fair transcriber in things of any

LETTER
II.



LETTER moment. Had the writings of this Veremundus
 II. been still remaining, people would have been able
 to judge what value they were of: But except
 David Chambers of Ormond, who was a Lord
 of Session in Q. Mary's time, and says he saw this
 history of Veremundus, we have never heard of
 its ever being seen by any other person: So that,
 after all this gentleman's testimony, there is perhaps
 not so great a mistake as Mr. Innes thinks, in
 what the learned Gordon of Straloch says he heard
 when he was a young man at Aberdeen, "that
 Boece had destroyed the copies of all the au-
 thors he made use of, to make his own his-
 tory the more valuable, and the only document
 for all our antiquities." Nor is this all: For,
 allowing that Veremundus had said all that Boece
 makes him say on this head, it would seem that
 his account had not been much known or much
 regarded afterwards. For in the dispute about the
 crown between Bruce and Baliol, two hundred
 years and more after Veremundus, we find the
 barons of Scotland, in their instructions to their
 Commissioners at Rome, attributing their original
 conversion to the relicks of St. Andrew. And
 which is more to the purpose, we find the then
 Pope Boniface VIII. who could not be ignorant
 of a transaction so glorious to his See, and was
 not the man to have parted with it, if he had
 known it, in a formal Bull emitted by him on
 that dispute in 1299, putting the King of Eng-
 land in mind, "that the kingdom of Scotland
 was acquired and converted to the unity of the
 Catholic faith by the venerable relicks of the
 Apostle St. Andrew, not without the great gift
 of the supreme Being." Which, by the by,
 whatever credibility may be in it, or application
 of

Crit. Essay
 p. 296.

Nich. Scot.
 Hist. Libr.
 p. 75.

Scotiehr.
 Lib. xi.
 cap. 51.

Usher Pri-
 Eccl. Br.
 cap 15.

of it to the Scots, did not happen, by the consentient testimony of all that speak of it, till 150 years or so after the era assigned to Donald and Victor: And I only make use of it to shew how little Donald's conversion was then known to, or taken notice of by those who ought to have known it, and would have found it their interest to have taken notice of it, if it had been to be noticed.

If Fordun therefore, after all the travel he made thro' the kingdom in search of intelligence, and with all the opportunities and abilities he had for discoveries of this kind, could learn nothing of the first Christian King, not so much as his bare name, where had the valuable documents been lying hid, which Boece says were sent to him from Icolmkill, and it seems had escaped the laborious Fordun? Fordun indeed had lighted on some verses that spoke of a Pope Victor I. and of England's beginning to embrace the Catholic faith in his time: And he had ingrafted the intelligence in the very same terms into his history, as it was usual in those days to date any event that concerned religion from the years of the Popes. This was all the intelligence that was extant in Fordun's time, and though not made much use of by him, seems to have been all the foundation that Boece sought to build upon, and where, after all that he could make out of the particular year and Pope, he was obliged to coin a King of his own to complete the fabric. For hitherto he had met with no such name, not in any of the traditional genealogies of the old Shannachies; not in Fordun's history, which, tho' he had it in his possession, he never once mentions; not in the history which he himself says, B. Elphinston wrote, and which he proposes to follow, nor in the breviary

LETTER
II.

LETTER viary of Aberdeen, drawn up and printed by that
 II. Bishop's order in 1509; in none of all which is
 there a word of a King Donald, or any thing
 looking that way. And if so, what becomes of
 all the subsequent plans that we meet with of
 church affairs in Boece and his followers, such as
 King Crathilinth's ejecting the Druids out of
 Mann,* and planting christian clergy in their
 room, and the like? And what stress can be laid
 upon the accounts of church-government given us
 in consequence of such an unsupported hypothe-
 sis by some of our profest historians, that "in
 these old times the Scots were instructed in the
 faith by Priests and Monks without Bishops?"
 But of this more afterwards: Mean time,

Boeth. hist.
 lib. 6.
 Buch. hist.
 lib. 4. in
 reg. 34.

I am, &c.

LET.

Camd. Brit. * Boece takes Mann to have been their seat, because Tacitus
 in Insulis. had said the Druids had resided in Mona, which is not Mann,
 but the Welch island of Anglesey.

L E T T E R III.

Mission and Coming of Palladius——A Passage of Prosper relating to it——Another of Fordun——both properly explained——Story of the Expulsion and Restoration of the Scots considered——Probable Account of their Conversion to Christianity, and of all that Palladius did among them.

I Have already observed, that the conversion of K. Donald, which now makes such a figure in our ecclesiastical annals, might have been allowed to pass in the lump, with many more of Boece's historical peculiarities, if it had not been so strangely improved upon, and swelled out to such a monstrous size, with deductions and declamatory invectives from it. But when such a handle is made of a story so doubtful and ill founded, we are not to admit it blindly without some sort of examination. And indeed a very superficial examination, such as I have given it, is sufficient to discover the weakness of its foundation, and to satisfy every impartial person what a tottering fabric it must be that has no better ground to stand upon. The history of our first forty Kings with K. Donald among them, as currently received, is the source of a great part of that clamour and con-

LETTER III.

LET.

Tacitus
Mann,

LETTER confusion which has infested both our church and
 III. state in latter times : And tho' I shall not say that
 ~~~~~ the first broachers of that history, either Fordun  
 who threw out the hint, or Boece who enlarged  
 upon it, had such a design in view, (tho' it cannot  
 be denied that Boece looks too much that  
 way ;) yet there is reason to suspect that Buchanan  
 and his admirers have greedily embraced it, as  
 so very capable of answering their great purpose  
 of humbling Kings as well as Bishops : Nor can  
 I help thinking that the elegance and fluency of  
 Buchanan's Latin has contributed, and still contributes  
 more to the favourable reception of these  
 unauthenticated relations, than any strength or  
 solidity that people would find in them, if it were  
 not for that prejudice. So ready are we to be  
 run away with by mere sound ; and a well told  
 tale set off in flowing language shall catch our  
 esteem, and even steal our assent, without inquiring  
 much either into the truth or sense of it.—  
 Thus in the present case we are pleased with the  
 very sound of such a long race of Kings as high  
 up as Alexander the Great, and are fond to hear  
 of a church planted among us with such harmony  
 and regularity in almost the very earliest times of  
 christianity : And when we read all this in the  
 well turned periods of a Buchanan, purged from  
 the many apparent fabulosities of a Boece, which  
 he had artfully taken care to retrench, we easily  
 and unthinkingly swallow all, without ever asking  
 for authorities, or troubling our heads with any  
 ill-looking consequences. But I shall not prosecute  
 this consideration further at this time. I  
 shall have occasion to bring it in more properly afterwards,  
 and shall now step forward to an era of  
 somewhat more certainty, and which presents to us  
 another

another noticeable event in our ecclesiastical annals: And that is the coming of Palladius among us in the year 430, to the same purpose and from the same quarter with the nameless persons who are said to have come two hundred and twenty seven years before.

LETTER  
III.

I call this an era of more certainty, as we have the first accounts of it from a writer who lived at the time when, and in the place whence Palladius was sent: The passage is well known in the Chronicon of Prosper Aquitanus, where we read, that "Palladius being ordained by Pope Celestine, is sent the *first* Bishop to the Scots believing in "Christ." This is a much made-of discovery, and is still quoted by ecclesiastical writers of every age and every nation. So there is not the least ground to doubt the authenticity of it, and if there had been but half as much evidence for the other story of Donald and Victor, I should not have made the least objection to the authenticity of it. Yet with all this concurrence of authority for the mission of Palladius, it is surprising to see what a handle has been made of it by some, and what a dust has been raised about it by others. Our own writers, Fordun, Major, Boece, Buchanan, &c. endeavour to infer from Prosper's calling Palladius the "*first*" Bishop, that before his time the Scottish church was governed, and the affairs of religion among them managed without Bishops. And it is well known how loudly the Presbyterian party have triumphed upon this inference, and do still attribute to Palladius the change of the old model, which they would make us believe was agreeable to their darling parity-scheme, into the tyranny, as they call it, of modern prelacy. But if these gentlemen would look into things with

LETTER  
III.Usher de  
Primord.  
lib. 16.

a little more attention and less prejudice, they might perhaps find cause to be somewhat less confident in their allegations even from this favourite occasion which Prosper and his commentators give them. I shall not insist on Archbishop Usher's critical observation, that tho' in all the common editions of Prosper's chronicle the *Primus Episcopus*, first Bishop, is still to be met with, yet in the edition he made use of, as published by Duchesne in his first tome of French writers, it is only said, and Usher quotes it so, "*Palladius Episcopus mittitur*," Palladius is sent a Bishop. This indeed would knock down the doughty argument at once, and quite destroy any use that might be made of it. But I shall take no advantage of this discovery, nor seek to avail myself, as might be done, of the two common criticisms on the word "*First*," as if it might signify 1. not the first Bishop whom the Scots had had, but the first whom Pope Celestine, or any Pope had sent to them, or 2. in another sense, the primary Bishop, or Bishop of the first See. These interpretations, I say, may be passed from on the present occasion: And I shall admit the expression in all its force, tho' I still deny the inference drawn from it.

Scotichron.  
lib. iii.  
cap. 8.

But before I go further, I must stop a little to take notice of the partiality of some people, when they have a cause to serve: Fordun had said, that "before the incoming of Palladius, the Scots had for teachers of the faith, and ministers of the sacraments, Presbyters only, or Monks following the rites of the primitive church."—These are Fordun's words literally rendered, and may well bear his meaning to have been, that the Presbyters or Monks, in their administration of the sacraments followed the primitive rites, which would

would say nothing for or against Episcopacy. But LETTER III.  
 the common acceptation put upon them by the parity-men, and which they squeeze out of the word "*only*," and by inverting the connection, is, that it was in having only Presbyters or Monks among them, that the Scots followed the rites of the primitive church. Now Fordun could not but know that the primitive church had Bishops, and therefore a distinction must be found out to save his credit, and reconcile him to the proposed scheme. Accordingly Mr. David Buchanan, who in Charles the First's time published an edition in quarto of Knox's history, with a preface and interpolations, after quoting Fordun, gives us this stricture of his own; "Mark the latter words, Preface, P. 26.  
 "for according to this saying goes the judgment  
 "of the best divines who write the truth without  
 "out any respect, whose mind John Semeca declares thus, in glossa decreti, In the first primitive church the office of Bishops and Priests was  
 "common to one and the other, and the names  
 "common, but in the second primitive church  
 "the names and the offices began to be distinguished." Is it not surprising to find a man of this writer's principles complimenting the glossers upon the decretals with the title of "*Best Divines*," and appealing to that corrupt farrago in a debate about the primitive church? When he could not but know what a spurious collection these decretals were, and how the two Popes, Innocent III. and his nephew Gregory IX. who authorised them, made use of them to invade the rights of the episcopate, and level all sort of ecclesiastical distinction to the foot of the Papal throne. But notwithstanding the application of this Popish argument to serve an anti-episcopal



LETTER  
III.

cause, it still remains to be shewn when that nice distinction between the two "primitives" began, and that there were Monks, (for both Fordun and Major class them with Presbyters) in the church before Bishops. Let the opposers of Episcopacy try to solve either of these difficulties, and when they have made the attempt, they will see whether there be any ground for the inference which their approved writers think they find in Fordun, from all that Prosper says about the coming of Palladius.

And now that you may understand this affair the better, as far at least as it can be explained from the various accounts we have of this first Bishop of the Scots, I must take a survey of another remarkable epocha of our old history, which whatever be my own opinion of it, may afford an explanation of the passage in Prosper, that ought not to be rejected by those persons whom I have now in my eye. I have already observed that those of our historians, from whom the Presbyterians draw the above mentioned conclusions, do all go in general, tho' with some few particular variations, upon the plan of a long succession of kings for more than seven hundred years, from a Fergus son of Ferchard to a Fergus son of Erch: And because they have seen in some old fragments of records something like an insinuation that a Fergus MacErch makes a greater figure in history than his old name-father, they have given us a distinct account of a dissolution of the old monarchy, and a restoration of it after a tract of some years by this second Fergus, which opens up a new scene to us, and makes every thing clear and perspicuous. Even Fordun the first of them, tho' he owns he knew nothing particular or cer-  
tain

tain of these old times, yet is precise enough about the dissolution of the monarchy by Maximus the Roman Governor of Britain, and places it in the year 360: Boece, in his confused way, brings it down to 379: Major fixes it to 353: And Buchanan to 377. But they all agree in telling us, that the King Eugenius was killed in battle with most of his nobles, and a vast number of the common people; and that his brother Ethodius or Ethach with his son Erch, and such of the people as escaped, fled, some to Ireland, some to Norway and other places of safety, from the fury of their victorious enemies: That Erch's son Fergus, when he came to man's estate, gathered together all his countrymen from the various places of their dispersion, and once more resettled them in their old country. This restoration Fordun and Major place in 403, and Buchanan in 404: But Boece, to answer his notion of Fergus being at the taking of Rome by Alaric the Goth in 409, and bringing books from thence to Iona, has it not sooner than 422. I am not as yet to enquire into the truth of all this, but to take it as I find it, and to argue from the supposition of the reality of it, about the true meaning of Prosper in his account of the mission of Palladius. We have seen that this Fergus was born abroad, that by the oldest accounts the exile lasted forty years, in which time the most of the old refugees would be dead and gone, that the countries to which it is said they fled, whether Norway, Denmark or Ireland, were at that time heathen, consequently that at the time of their restoration there would be but little of church government, or of old clergy among them, whatever of that kind might have been in the kingdom before. So they would

LETTER  
III.

Scotichron.

lib. ii. c. 57.

Boet. hi. l.

l. vi.

De Gest.

Scot. l. ii.

cap. 1.

Buch. Hist.

lib. v.

Scotichron.

lib. iii. c. 1.

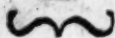
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LETTER

III.



be almost a new people with some little knowledge perhaps of Christianity, but no regular plan of sacred ministrations: In a word, for some time at least after their return they would be in a confused, unsettled way both as to church and state. In which case, if Prosper knew these things, as it is probable he might if they were to be known, was it not proper and quite consonant to fact, to call a Bishop who was sent among such a people their "first" Bishop? Whether their forefathers before their expulsion had Bishops or not, it must be allowed they themselves had none. The famed college that Boece speaks of in the Isle of Mann would undergo the same catastrophe with the rest: And his story of the Monks of Iona or Hy labours under so many incongruities even upon his own scheme, that no judicious person would chuse to lay any weight upon it. From all which I think there is no reason to wrest this affair of Palladius so much as has been done, nor do I see what connection there is between his being the first Bishop of the restored Scots, and the state of church matters among the people of that name so many years before. He was certainly the first Bishop designed for this new settlement, and Prosper might very pertinently call him so, without any respect either in intention or expression, to any model of church government that the progenitors of this people might have lived under. All this, I say, may be argued upon the footing of our histories as they stand, and those who admit these histories, and draw conclusions of their own from them, cannot well refuse the force of this argumentation. But after all, I must own I have no faith to give to the whole of this story, as it stands, about the total expulsion, and wonderful restoration

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tion of the Scots. There are so many anachron-  
isms and other contradictions in it, such a variety  
of confused and jarring relations concerning it,  
that one cannot well tell what to make of it.—  
Fordun, who first speaks of it, fixes the expul-  
sion to the year 360: Tho' at that time, we are  
told by a cotemporary historian of good credit,  
Ammianus Marcellinus, that the Scots and Picts  
were ravaging the Roman provinces in Britain,  
and filling the provincials with terror; that in  
364 the Scots and Picts were continuing their  
incurSIONS, and that the territories of the empire  
were not sufficiently fortified against them till 368,  
when the general Theodosius, father to the first  
Emperor of that name, drove them back beyond  
the Northern wall, and erected all the countries  
between the two walls into a fifth province, by the  
name of Valentia. This is Ammian's account, who  
lived at the time, and consequently is a more cre-  
dible narrator of Roman transactions than writers  
so very much later as Fordun or Boece. Bu-  
chanan had seen this glaring mistake, of antedat-  
ing the expulsion by Maximus so many years be-  
fore Maximus had any concern in the island, and  
therefore to make it coincide, as he thought, with  
Maximus's government, he brings it down to the  
year 377, and adopts, with sundry enlargements,  
the lamentable description that Fordun and Boece  
had given of it before. This indeed shews Bu-  
chanan to have been a nicer critic in chronolo-  
gical matters than the former two, but says no-  
thing for his authority any more than theirs. For  
after this year which Buchanan has fixed for their  
complete expulsion, we find from very old writers,  
such as the poet Claudian, Gregory of Tours,  
Tiro, Prosper, Gildas and Bede, that the Scots in  
con-

LETTER  
III.

Ammian.  
l. 26, 27.



**LETTER** conjunction with the Picts were perpetually harassing the poor subjects of the Roman provinces on both sides of the Southern wall, all the time indeed of their alledged exile, and till the very date of what is called their restoration, whether in 403 or 422. I need not take notice of the many inconsistencies among our historians about this restoration, every one of them representing it so as to suit their own plan, without assigning their authorities, or giving any reason for their several accounts. It is enough for my purpose that we see it plain, from the undoubted testimony of reputable writers, that there were Scots in Britain all the time assigned to their being scattered thro' foreign countries by our modern historians: So what shall we think of all that they tell us, and tell us so precisely too, of these times? The only answer that can be given is, that later writers have had some particular end to serve, and the antients none.

In reply to all this, it will be said perhaps that the Scots spoken of by Gildas, Bede, &c. as infesting the Roman provinces between the expulsion and restoration, were not settled inhabitants of Britain, but marauders from Ireland, who came over now and then for plunder, and sneaked home again as fast as they could with their booty. And for this, I know, there is the suffrage of very respectable writers, such as Archbishop Usher, Dr. Stillingfleet, and sundry others. But with all due deference to Primate Usher, whose unwearied historical labours deserve admiration, I do not see what solid reasons he has for this opinion, of which he seems to have been the author, and in which he has had so many followers. Gildas, the most antient British writer we have, and who wrote about the

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*Crit. Essay*  
p. 652-663.

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year 530, had said, that "when Maximus had LETTER III.  
 "usurped the title of Emperor in 383, and was  
 "killed at Aquileia in 388, the Roman part of  
 "Britain being destitute of Governors, and strip-  
 "ed of all military protection, was miserably ravag-  
 "ed for many years by two fierce transmarine  
 "nations, the Scots from one point of the com-  
 "pass, which he calls Circius, and the Picts from  
 "another, which he calls Aquilo." After him  
 Bede, who finished his ecclesiastical history in  
 731, repeats the same account, and in the very  
 same words: \* Adding likewise, "We call these  
 "nations transmarine, not that they dwelt out of  
 "Britain, but because they were separated from  
 "the country of the Britons, by two interjacent  
 "friths of the sea, of which one from the East sea,  
 "and the other from the West sea, break far into  
 "the land of Britain, tho' they do not quite meet:  
 "The East frith has in the middle of it the city  
 "Guidi: The West one has upon it the city Al-  
 "cluid, which in their language signifies the rock  
 "of Cluyd, for it is beside the river of that  
 "name." He had said before, "There is a great  
 "frith of the sea which of old divided the Bri-  
 "tons from the Picts, and breaks far into the  
 "land from the West, where there is a strong  
 "city of the Britons to this day, called Alcluyd:

\* The Circius here, from which the Scots came, certainly signifies the North-west, as Mr. Goodall has clearly evinced by grammatical authorities, to which may be added the consent of Fordun, who in his description of the cardinal winds, says, "the second point or cardinal wind is placed in the West, where the sun sets at the autumnal equinox, and is called Favonius, who has two collateral winds, Circius towards the North, and Zephyrus towards the South;" and again, "Favonius has on his right hand the wind Circius or Cercius, which makes snows and hail."

LETTER " On the North side of this frith, the Scots when  
 III. " they came, *sibi locum patriæ fecerunt*, fixed  
 ~~~~~ " their residence."† From all which it is evident  
 that the Scots who came from *Circius* into the
 Roman provinces, came out of one part of Bri-
 tain into another, and were no more foreigners
 from another country, than the Picts who came
 from *Aquilo*, the North or North-east, and joined
 with them in these inroads.

Gildas,
 cap. 19.

Bed. lib. i.
 cap. 14.

It is true, the learned Primate Usher further
 urges, and his copiers from him, that where Gil-
 das had said, "*Revertuntur impudentes grassato-*
 "*res Hiberni domum*, these impudent Irish plun-
 derers return home," Bede expresses it by "*Re-*
 "*vertuntur Scoti domum*, the Scots return
 " home," from which he pleads that Bede calls
 those Scots whom Gildas had called Irish, and
 consequently that these Scots were the inhabi-
 tants of Ireland. But this still seems to be beg-
 ging the question: For Bede's variation not
 more proves that the *Scoti*, Scots were inhabi-
 tants of the island now called Ireland, than it does
 that the *Hiberni*, whom the primate will have to
 be Irish, were the inhabitants of that part of Bri-
 tain now called Scotland. And if there be any
 ground for Mr. Goodal's notion of the *Ierne* or
Hiberne of the antients being the part of Britain
 to the North or North-west of the Northern wall,

† These firths of Forth and Clyde, as they are now called,
 were called *seas* in the careless style of those days, and even as
 far down as the time of the *Regiam Majestatem*, where we read
 that the amerciements of the Justiciary Court, *ex parte boreali*
maris Scotiæ, on the North side of the Scottish sea, were paid in
 cattle, and these *ultra mare Scotiæ*, sicut in *Laudonia et inter a-*
quas de Forth et Tyne, on the other side of the Scottish sea, as
 in Lothian and between the waters of Forth and Tyne, were
 paid in money.

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it is highly probable that Gildas meant the people of these parts by Hiberni, who, he says, came from Circius in conjunction with the Picts from Aquilo.† Mr. Innes has justly argued against Archbishop Usher's opinion from the improbability of such swarms of armed men every now and then crossing the rapid tides between Ireland and Britain in their currughs, or little boats as Gildas calls them, and returning back again every year, rather than staying in Britain with their allies the Picts, who it is acknowledged, had their residence in Britain at that time. The learned Sir George M'kenzie, who was King's advocate for Scotland in James the Seventh's time, had made the same observation before, in his dispute with the Bishop of St. Asaph upon this subject: And an English author, the Archdeacon of Carlisle, afterwards Bishop of Londonderry, approves of Sir George's argumentation as strong and convincing, and carrying a great degree of light in it. Upon the whole therefore, I think we may warrantably conclude that, as upon the one hand there is no good ground for supposing an expulsion and restoration of the Scots, with our three famed historians, Fordun, Boece, and Buchanan, so upon the other hand there is equally as little for imagining, with Archbishop Usher and his retinue, that the Scots spoken of at that time were not residents in Britain, but the proper inhabitants of Ireland.

LETTER II.

Crit. Essay,
p. 660.Scott. Hist.
Libr. ch. ii.
p. 135.

† Perhaps Gildas means no more by his Hiberni grassatores but a pack of robbers that stole out in winter, as it is well known the Latin word "Hiberni" is applicable to winter as well as to Ireland, and Mr. Goodall says there is a different reading to be met with in an old manuscript of Gildas published by Gale, "re-vertuntur hibernas domos," which I would render, they return to their winter homes.

LETTER

III.

You will ask, what has all this to do with the affair of Palladius? And I answer, a great deal. A number of able writers, but who seem to be too envious of any thing that looks like glorious to the Scottish nation, would be robbing our country of even the honour of Palladius. The Irish claim his mission to their island, which is not much to be wondered at, considering their national character: Yea, their great primate tells us, "there are not wanting some who think that the whole story of the old conversion under, or by Pope Victor belongs to Ireland, which he says was the antient Scotland," and he quotes Bozjusz to that purpose. But it is strange that the English should fall in with this piece of critical robbery, when it has no concern with any thing relative to their own antiquities, and at the same time drives them into the unjustifiable method of wresting texts, and even contradicting themselves. Thus Mr. Collier in his ecclesiastical history, speaking of Palladius, says, "he was consecrated by Pope Celestine, and sent, as Prosper informs us, ad Scotos in Christum credentes, that is, to the converted Scots in Ireland," when every one knows there is not the least word of Ireland in Prosper's text. So in another place, he says "the time of the Scots first settling in this island is, by the learned Primate Usher, fixed to the year of our Lord 503," and refers us to Dr. Stillingfleet's reply to the counter-evidence offered by Sir George M'kenzie. And yet afterwards, speaking of the irruptions of the Danes into England, he seems to have forgot this: For he says, "after the Romans had made themselves masters of Britain, the Scots and Picts, tho' they made frequent incursions, yet it was only upon the more northern and barren parts of the island, where,

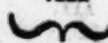
Eccles. hist.
b. i. p. 50.

Ibid. b. ii.
p. 15.

" where, being once seated, they were quiet for LETTER
 " a great while, and desisted from any further III.
 " attempt: And as for the Saxons who came next
 " upon the country, they were nothing so de-
 " structive as the Danes." Here he plainly makes B. iii.
 the seating, or settling of the Scots in Britain prior P. 153.
 to the incoming of the Saxons, which is general-
 ly reckoned about the year 450, and considerably
 before the era he had formerly assigned to that
 settling. So much does the force of truth break
 out, when people have nothing immediately be-
 fore them to warp them from it. Now as to
 Palladius, it is agreed on all hands that he was
 sent to the believing Scots: And it is admitted,
 because it cannot well be denied, that there were
 Scots in Britain seventy years before his mission.
 We have Ammian's testimony for this, and from
 the account he gives of them, as having such a
 hand in opposing the Roman power, and distres-
 sing their provinces, it may be concluded they had
 been no contemptible people for many years. Nor
 is it very natural to suppose that such troublesome
 enemies would be still driving backward and for-
 ward across the sea between Ireland and Britain,
 all that long tract of time, out of hatred to the
 Romans, without ever attempting, or being able
 to obtain a footing on the same continent with
 them, where they could with less danger and more
 success annoy and harass them. And as for their
 being believers when Palladius was sent to them,
 that may easily be accounted for without going
 so far back as Donald and Victor, or having re-
 course to the Presbyters and Monks, whom Bu-
 chanan and his admirers make such a pother about.
 The christian faith had no doubt come early into
 Britain, tho' we cannot with clearness ascertain
 the

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the precise time or particular way. The zeal and fervour of these first ages, and I hope I may say, the especial direction of a superintending providence, would produce this. Who were the particular persons, or what were the particular means by which this happy work was first begun, has not been clearly handed down to us. We have been told of Joseph of Arimathea, of an Aristobolus, of Simon Zelotes, of St. Paul, yea even of St. Peter himself being in Britain, and tho' we have not sufficient ground to give credit absolutely to these relations, there has nothing as yet appeared to disprove them altogether. There certainly were conversions in these early days, which the Bishops of Rome had no hand in, and knew nothing of. The Apostles themselves and their immediate disciples would be very active in propagating the gospel, and fulfilling the great commission given them by their master. There has been an old current tradition that St. Thomas carried it as far as China: "Per D. Thomam evangelium Christi ascendit et volavit ad Sinas; By St. Thomas the gospel of Christ ascended and flew to the Chinese." May it not be thought that Britain would be as early enlightened, which was of easier access, and to which a door had been opened, as if by a particular appointment of heaven, by Julius Cæsar, near one hundred years before? In general, it will be allowed that the progress of the Roman arms would pave a way for the spreading of the gospel far and near: The whole current of church-history, and the correspondence of such authentic accounts as we have, lead to this presumption: and we may safely enough suppose, that numbers of the sacred character, Bishops as well as others, would, out of

a voluntary zeal, and without fear of danger in such a good cause, take the opportunity of the marching of the Roman troops to the various parts of this western world of ours, and mix themselves even with such company, either openly or under disguise, for the accomplishment of such a salutary purpose. The Roman histories present us with two likely enough opportunities of this kind. One is, when the Emperor Claudius came over in person to Britain, in whose household we have St. Paul's attestation there were Saints: And again when Domitian sent over Julius Agricola, who staid many years in the country, and sailed round the whole island with his fleet. At both which times it is supposable that there would be christians, and some even of the clergy, along with these expeditions. Many of the Bishops in these primitive times, and that there were Bishops then cannot be questioned, looked upon the whole world as, in a larger sense, their charge, and thought themselves called upon, as far as the necessities of their own particular portions of the flock would permit, to employ their labours where and when they found it convenient, in enlarging the church, and publishing the glad tidings of salvation. I do not insist upon the prevailing opinion adopted by so many of our writers, that our ancestors owed their conversion to the disciples of St. John, because I do not think the argument, drawn from the difference of rites in after times, conclusive enough to establish such opinion. Yet I do not deny its being probable, that some of them, when they saw their master persecuted and banished by that savage tyrant Domitian, for which we have undoubted evidence, would disperse themselves different ways, and part of them step over to Britain along

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Tertul adv.
Judacos,
cap. 7.

Orig. Hom.
iv. in Ezck.
& vi. in Luc.

Usher de
Prim.
cap. 8.

along with the Roman army: Though they would no doubt take some time from their first coming over, to spread themselves, and carry their ministrations to the various corners of the island where they could find inhabitants.

Accordingly, about a hundred years after Agricola's time, we find Tertullian looking this way, when he says, in enumerating the many nations where the gospel had been preached, "Britannorum loca Romanis inaccessa, Christo vero subdita, parts of Britain not reached to by the Romans, but subject to Christ." And some time after Tertullian, lived the famous Origen, who gives the same testimony of christianity being early carried into Britain. It is certain that long before the council of Nice there was a church in Britain, and a church too, regularly settled under, and governed, according to the ancient and primitive institution, by Bishops. For, in a synod held at Arles under Constantine about the Donatist schism in 314, there assisted three British Bishops, Eborius of York, Restitutus of London, and Adelphius of a third place, supposed to be Colchester, and along with them a Presbyter called Sacerdos, and Arminius a Deacon. In the following councils of Nice, Sardica and Rimini, there were Bishops from Britain, and the ecclesiastical writers of these times do all testify. Now when we consider how ready the Bishops of these early ages were to diffuse the christian faith thro' the neighbouring nations by every possible means of access, and when, along with this consideration, we find that the people to the north of the Roman provinces in Britain, by whatever names they were then called, whether Scots, or Picts, or Caledonians, had frequent con-

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correspondence of some kind or other with the Roman subjects, we may hence infer with great probability, that some degree of acquaintance would be formed with the christian faith among these northern tribes? It needs not be objected that the correspondence I plead from was an hostile one: For even enemies will sometimes have friendly commerce with one another: And the calamitous intercourses of war have oft been the means of conveying the knowledge of the truth. It was a captive girl from Israel that brought the Syrian General Naaman to the knowledge of the true God: And the conversion of the Iberians, a numerous people between the Pont-Euxine and the Caspian sea, was owing to a christian woman whom they had taken prisoner in some of their incursions into the lands of the empire. Might not the common chance of captives between the christian Britains and their northern enemies operate to the same effect? I see nothing to hinder why it might not. Indeed we have two instances in fact which afford some shadow of proof for such a supposition. One is of the old heretic Pelagius, who made a figure in the world a good many years before we hear of Palladius, and is by universal consent of writers called a Briton: Which fixes the place of his nativity in this island, and gives room to make a Scotsman of him, on the authority of his cotemporary St. Jerom, who frequently calls him Scotus, and in one place particularly adds "de Britannorum vicinia, from the neighbourhood of the Britons." Here then is one believer among the Scots, and a notable one too both for morals and learning, except in that one article in which he grossly erred. The other instance is of the still more famous S. Pa-

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trick,

LETTER
III.Fleury. hist.
Eccles. liv.
xi. ch. 39.Dr Mack-
enz. Lives,
vol. i.

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De Prim.

cap 17.

trick, the Apostle as he is called, of Ireland, whom, because all the writers of his life say he was born in Britain, Camden will have to be a Welchman, tho' even Archbishop Usher proves from undoubted testimony that he was born near Alclud, now Dunbarton. Only the primate will not allow him to have been a Scotsman, because on his plan the Scots had not only at that time no possession of that part of the country, but even were not then in any part of Britain at all. But I have shewn already that, whatever truth there may be in the first part of the Primate's negation, there certainly were Scots in the neighbourhood of Dunbarton about the year 370, when Patrick was born, since the Roman historians of these times speak of the Scots as then harassing the Roman provinces, and coming over the northern wall for that purpose. It appears therefore that Patrick was born, if not among the Scots, yet in their next neighbourhood, and, as we might say, at their very door. His grandfather Politus was a Presbyter, his father Calphurnius a Deacon, and his mother Conchessa either sister or niece to the celebrated St. Martin of Tours. From which christian connexions I think it may reasonably be inferred, that the Scots being in such a christian vicinity would, notwithstanding of their hostile incursions, and even by the means of these very inroads, have the opportunity, and probably might, some of them at least, embrace it, of becoming acquainted with that faith, to which they were afterwards so famous for their attachment. So much you see is to be said for the historical character given of them, that there were "credentes, believers" among them when Palladius was sent to them.

Indeed

Indeed I needed not have been at the pains of LETTER
all this deduction, but might have rested the III.
whole of the question about Prosper's testimony
of them on St. Paul's reasoning, Romans x. 14.
"How shall they believe on him of whom they
"have not heard? And how shall they hear with-
"out a preacher? And how shall they preach ex-
"cept they be sent?" Now there were believing
Scots before Palladius: Consequently these be-
lievers had heard of Christ. Christ had been
preached to them, and preachers had been sent.
By whom sent we cannot specify: The Apostle's
reasoning does not require it. Certainly by such
as had power and authority devolved from the
original Sender. And if we are to look towards
a human mission, which, after the Apostolic times,
was the ordinary, if not the only method of con-
veyance, where shall we find a readier or more
likely source of mission than from the neighbour-
ing churches of the Roman part of Britain and
their respective Bishops, an Eborius of York for
instance who was next to them, and may be
thought to have had as easy a communication
with them as with Arles in France. Yet this
does not prove, nor even oblige us to suppose,
that the Scots all this time had a regular organi-
zed church among them, or a settled government
either by Bishops or Presbyters. Prosper's words
imply no such thing: "Ad Scotos credentes in
"Christum" may signify "to such of the Scots
"as believed in Christ," not that all the Scots
were believers: So then all the fine things said on
this subject by Boece, and hinted at by Buchanan,
are said wholly without book; and the posterior
improvements of latter times are no better than
so many airy fabrics without any solid founda-

LETTER III. tion. Palladius is expressly said to have been sent to the believing Scots: A cotemporary writer says so, and that writer calls him "primus Episcopus," the first Bishop. Here is a certain uncontested fact: Let us therefore take an impartial view of it, and upon comparing the various accounts we have concerning it, we shall find there is not so much to be made of it as some people imagine. Prosper says, he was sent by Pope Celestine, and the friends of the Pope may lay some stress upon this: But we are not told what title the Pope had to send him, and we are not ignorant how ready the Popes even then were to be meddling in matters where, upon primitive principles, they had no immediate concern. The contention between Celestine's three predecessors and the African Bishops, of whom the great St. Augustine was one, about the exercise of church-discipline upon some of their own members, is a proof of this. And tho' we give Prosper credit for the fact in general, yet we know that the man was fully as much attached to the Pope's honour as was consistent with truth and candour. We have an instance of this in the affair of the two Gallican Bishops, Germanus of Auxerre and Lupus of Troyes, coming over to recover the British churches from the infection of the Pelagian errors. Prosper attributes this entirely to Celestine, and says, "Pope Celestine sends the Bishop Germanus, *vice sua*, in his own stead, and driving out the Heretics, reduces the Britons to the Catholic faith." But another cotemporary writer, Constantius a Presbyter of Lyons, who is followed by Bede and many others, says it was owing to the application of the British Bishops themselves to the Bishops of Gaul, who

Chron. ad
ann. 429.

Bede. lib. i:
cap. 17.

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in a synod held for the purpose, deputed Ger-
 manus and Lupus for that work. And this dif-
 ference of accounts appeared so material to the
 annalist Baronius, that, to reconcile them, he
 was obliged to suppose "that either the Pope
 " might have before hand devolved his power
 " of legation on the Gallican synod, or given
 " his approbation afterwards to the delegates
 " whom the synod employed." It is not un-
 likely that Prosper might have been as favour-
 able, I shall not say, partial in this other case of
 Palladius. And if so, the Pope would have no
 more glory by the one than by the other. For the
 truth is, Prosper could not be intimately ac-
 quainted with the particular situation or progress
 of christianity among the Scots at that time.—
 He might have heard that there were such a
 people, and in Britain too, from the accounts
 which the Roman troops would bring over of
 their harassing the provinces there: And some
 distant hints might have been given him, that
 there was something like christianity among them.
 But what form of church-government was or
 could be among a people so rough and unciviliz-
 ed as the Scots then would appear to a Roman
 eye, he could not distinctly know: So that he
 might naturally suppose that any Bishop, who
 would venture among them, either by a mission
 from the Pope or by any other deputation, would
 be the first of that character, whom such an un-
 trained and unsettled sect of christians had been
 favoured with. I do not mean that this was ac-
 tually the case, or that the Scots at this era were
 really so wild and irregular either as to church
 or state: But only, that, from the unfavourable
 idea which the Romans would have of them as
 re-

LETTER
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Baron. A.
 D. 429.
 p. 531.

LETTER represented by the dismal complaints of the poor
 III. Britons, Prosper might, consistently enough with
 all that he could hear about them, look upon
 them in no better light, and consequently might
 write of Palladius and them in the same way
 he does.

But, to pass over these things as conjectural though not improbable, it remains to be asked what this Palladius did among the Scots when he came? This is the main question, and Prosper says nothing about it. It is from our own historians that we have any answer to it, and they are all full upon it. Fordun tells us that Palladius came into Scotland in the eleventh year of King Eugenius, "cum magna cleri comitiva," with a great company of clergy, and that the King gave him a habitation at Fordun in the Merns. John Major says, "Pope Celestine consecrates Palladius a Bishop, and sends him to Scotland: For the Scots had been instructed in the faith by Priests and Monks, without Bishops: Palladius ordains Servanus a Bishop, and sends him to the Orkneys," &c. Boece says, "he ordained Servanus a Bishop, and sent him to the Orkneys, and likewise made Tervanus, whom he had baptized when a child, Archbishop of the Picts, being in all these good offices supported by the piety and liberality of K. Dongard, who had succeeded Eugenius." Polydore Virgil, an English writer of that age, brings him down to the time of Constantine, who succeeded Dongard, which is full thirty years from his coming over. Buchanan says, "Palladius was sent by Pope Celestine to root out the remainders of the Pagan heresy, under whose institution a great many men came to be famous for learning and ho-

Scotichron.
 lib. iii. c.
 3.

Lib. ii.
 cap. 2.

Boeth. Hist.
 Lib. 7.

Hist. lib. iii.

Buch. Hist.
 Lib. v. in
 R. 42.

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lines of life, the chief of whom" (he says, con-
rary to both chronology and fact) "were Patri-
cius, Servanus, Ninianus, Kentigernus: This
Palladius is believed to have been the first who
made Bishops in Scotland: For before that
time," &c. His namesake David Buchanan en-
gages, in conformity to his own principles, upon
all this, and adds, "that when Palladius had
with small difficulty assisted the orthodox to
disabuse those who had been carried away by
Pelagianism, he in a short time by subtle in-
sinuations gained so far on the well-meaning
Scots, that they consented to take new go-
vernours of their church, who were to have
a degree and pre-eminence above their brethren,
viz. the Prelate Bishops." And a little af-
ter he says further, "Palladius having brought
Hierarchie into the church of Scotland, takes
to his next care to provide for the mainten-
ance of this new degree and order, which was
obtained without great difficulty of both Prince
and people, under pretext of piety, but with
bad success, as by the wofull experience of
following times we have found." From these
descriptions, each of them improving upon, and
swelling out what had gone before, we are led to
believe that Palladius had entirely altered the old
constitution, and had continued so long among
the Scots as to have had full time to settle every
thing on a regular and well digested plan. On
the other hand there are historians, and these too
of no mean figure either for antiquity or credit,
whom Archbishop Usher produces as differing
widely from all this: Nennius, for instance, Mat-
thew Florilegus, Probus Hibernus, Jocelin, and
the writer of St. Patrick's life in the Irish lan-
guage,

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III.

Preface to
Knox,
p. 28, 29.

Usher de
Prim.
cap. 15, 16.

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III.

Scotichr.
Lib. vii.
cap 4.

Hist. Eccl.
liv. 26.
§ 13.

Buch. hist.
lib. 6. in
reg. 80.

guage, &c. who all agree as to the short time and small success of Palladius' labours. To these may be added the continuator of Fordun's history, who says that "on the death of Palladius, whom Pope Celestine had sent to the Scots, Patrick is ordained Bishop and sent to the Irish." And the French historian Fleury, who on the authority of Bolandus says, "Pope Celestine having been acquainted with the death of Palladius, whom he had sent into Scotland, appointed St. Patrick in his room, whom he ordained Bishop and sent to preach the faith in Ireland." These accounts speak in a quite different strain from those quoted above: Yet they seem for the most part to agree in one thing about Palladius, that he died among the Picts: Boece mentions the place, and calls it Fordun in the Merns: And tho' the historian Fordun says that the King of the Scots gave that place to Palladius, it is certain from concurrent authorities that the part of the country now called Merns did at that time belong to the Picts. Yet that Palladius had some particular connection there, either by residence or death, appears from the Pady-fair (Palladii feria) kept up in that neighbourhood to this day. Now what can we fairly and on solid grounds make of all this? Nothing, I think, from which to draw any just argument, or upon which to raise any well-compact structure, either of Papal supremacy or Presbyterian parity: But only in general that about that time there was a Bishop Palladius somewhere, in what is now called Scotland, and that his labours had not been of so long continuance, nor attended with so much success as the good man himself, (sanctissimus homo, as even Buchanan calls him) would have wished, and after

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After ages have without much inquiry believed. LETTER
I would not propose, by all this, to derogate from III.
the respect due to old traditions: But I would
have such traditions to be, if not well supported,
at least uniform and well connected, in a word,
consistent with one another: And when in a
number of traditions on the same subject, we find
differences, and even contradictions in material
points, the mind, if not warped by prejudice, will
only assent to such parts as they all agree in and
convey down to us: Which is exactly the case
before us, and is indeed all I intend by what I
have said about Palladius. There is no more au-
thority for the one class of accounts concerning
him, than for the other: But they all agree
that there was such a man in this country, that
he bore the character of a Bishop, and that he
lived among the Picts. And this, I still think, is
the utmost length we can go, with any sure
ground to go upon, in our inquiries about
him.

I am yours, &c.

I

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LETTER IV.

*Account of the Picts, among whom Palladius died
 —Division of their Country into a Southern
 and Northern District—Christianity intro-
 duced into the former by Ninian—into the lat-
 ter by Columba—assisted or succeeded by Sa-
 vanus, Kentigern, and others.*

Crit. Essay
 p. 689-694.

I Have mentioned in my last letter, that I feel no sufficient ground for assigning the mission of Palladius to what is now called Ireland, after all the pains that Archbishop Usher has taken to deprive our country of him. Neither do I fall in with another opinion of his, adopted afterwards by the inquisitive Mr. Innes, that even Fergus MacErch (or to speak in common style, Fergus II.) of whose existence and reign, there is not the least doubt, was not heard of in Britain, till about a hundred years after the era assigned to him by our historians. In support of this opinion, the primate produces some Irish legends, and Mr. Innes argues on the improbability of three successive generations taking up the space of one hundred and eighty six years, the time between the death of Fergus, which is supposed to have been in 419, and that of Aidan, his great grand-son.

son, which we are certain was in 605. This, he says, is against the received rule of allowing three generations to every hundred years, and contrary to what commonly happens in the lives of Kings. Yet our Scottish annals afford an instance afterwards, not far short, of what Mr. Innes objects to: * And he seems to have overlooked a difficulty, which embarrasses his calculation, as much as he thinks the long lives do the old one. For according to the Irish chronicles, to which he refers, Fergus son of Erch reigned three years, Dongard son of Fergus five years, Congald son of Dongard twenty four years; so that this last began his reign in 511; when by the constitution, which did not then admit a minor to the throne, he must have been at least twenty one years of age, and consequently born, at or before the year 490. Now we are told in the legends quoted by Usher, that about this time Fergus was "adolescens," a young man, the youngest indeed of twelve brethren, who wanted to turn him out of his share of their paternal heritage: Which does not well agree with his being then a grandfather, as this curtailing scheme represents him. So little certainty or correctness is there to be found in these old accounts, when they come to be too particular, and to give too minute a detail of men and things. And I mention this, only to shew how little clearness is to

* King Duncán was murdered by MacBeth in 1040. His son Malcolm Canmore died in 1093. David I. Malcolm's son died in 1153: And William, David's grandson (who in respect of age might have been David's son) died in 1214. So that here we have a hundred and seventy four years for three successions, which is not much short of the contended distance between Fergus and Aidan.

LETTER be looked for in the accounts of our church go-
 IV. vernment, when our civil history is involved in
 such a cloud of obscurity.

I admit, and I think from sufficient authority, that Palladius was in this country at a time when the people called Scots had a King reigning over them, and that he was clothed with, and empowered to act in the Episcopal character. But how long he stayed here, or what places he acted in, and what regulations or settlements he made, we have no certain information. From his being sent to the believing Scots we are not to infer that his labours were confined to them; and his dying at Fordun in the very heart almost of the then Pictish kingdom is a presumption at least that he had some connection with, and relation to that people. Indeed this seems to be hinted at in another book of Prosper's, where speaking of Celestine's zeal against the Pelagians in Britain, he says "having ordained a Bishop for the Scots, while he labours to preserve the Roman (part of the island) orthodox, he likewise made the barbarian (part of it) christian." This is one of those passages which Archbishop Usher would fain lay hold of, to carry Palladius over to Ireland, because of the antithesis between the "*Romanam et barbaram insulam*," which he would render the Roman and barbarian island. But both grammar and fact justify my way of rendering it: For none of the Roman writers ever called the whole island Roman, or if at any time they seem to do so, it is with respect to those over-sea nations, spoken of by Gildas and Bede, beyond the friths, which were in those days called seas, and made the Northern parts be often called another island. Now upon this

Contra Col-
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this interpretation of the "barbarous island," in Prosper, being that part of Britain not subject to the Romans, I think it fairly follows that the Picts ought to be included in this description, as it is certain that in Prosper's time, and both before and after him, the Picts were as formidable to, and as well known by the Romans as the Scots were.

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This consideration, joined to the best attested part of Palladius' history, that he died and was buried among the Picts, opens up to us another scene which has not as yet been looked at, but which from the nature and design of this present disquisition, we shall find of equal importance and concern to us: And that is to take a view of the time and manner of introducing the christian faith among that other ancient people of the Northern parts of Britain, so much and so long distinguished both in the Roman and Scottish annals by the name of *Picts*. I have often wondered that their conversion should have been so little taken notice of, and that even christian writers have been so silent about them, as if they had been a despicable race with whom the present inhabitants of Scotland had no manner of concern, or had reason to be ashamed of them: And I cannot help thinking that this neglect is in a great measure the cause of much of that confusion and inaccuracy to be met with in our ecclesiastical antiquities. We are so taken up with, and so fond of the title of Scots, which indeed has been now long and universally known, that we seldom think of any other people having ever been in this country: And when at any time or by any tradition we hear of this or that famous man preaching the gospel, and planting the

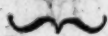
LETTER the church in these Northern parts, we take
 IV. the glory of all this to the Scots, and say, that
 so and so was done in Scotland. This might pass
 well enough upon the main, and among the multitude,
 but it is not satisfying to the impartial inquirer, nor agreeable to the rules of historical nicety. I know it has been said, that the Scots now-a-days have no business with these old Picts, who were all destroyed and rooted out, man, woman, and child of them, more than nine hundred years ago, by our brave and victorious King Kenneth. Yet, if it were so, it would still be a matter of curiosity, if not of necessity, to ask, if, and when, and how these Picts, once a powerful and extensive nation, got any knowledge of the truth, or had any vestiges of a christian church among them. It will be objected, that there are no records of these people remaining: Because if ever there were any such, they were all lost and swallowed up in the common destruction. It is to be lamented indeed, that we have so few authentic and connected accounts of these old inhabitants of North-Britain, not of the Picts only, but even of the Scots also. The casualties of time, and the ravages of war have been equally injurious to both nations, and the Scottish antiquities have suffered as much in proportion from the devastations of Edward Longshanks, as the Pictish could have done from the conquest of Kenneth Macalpin. The defect of evidence therefore needs be no objection against an inquiry into the state of Pictish christianity: And the notion of the universal destruction of their nation, which prevailed a while, is now justly exploded and given up. Probability and fact are both against it. The Scottish King Kenneth was, by

his grandmother, the true heir of the Pictish kingdom: And tho' in prosecution of that lady's right, which was begun by, and fatal to his father Alpin, Kenneth was obliged to use force against the intermediate usurpers and their partizans, which could not but be productive of much bloodshed on both sides, yet it is not to be thought that, after his last decisive victory, he either did or would extirpate the remains of a people whom he had all along claimed as his proper and liege subjects: Especially when we consider the folly of desolating such a vast part of his dominions as the Pictish territories certainly were, and the impossibility, for a long time at least, of peopling that large country out of his own old kingdom, which, as Robert Bruce told his army, in his speech to them before the battle of Bannockburn, was scarcely the third part of what is now called Scotland. In confirmation of which, and further to confute the strange fancy of a total massacre of such a numerous people, we find in fact that Kenneth himself and some of his successors are, by several old writers, prior to Fordun, called Kings of the Picts. From these and other undoubted documents, it may warrantably be inferred that the present inhabitants of Scotland, which in process of time came to be the known name of the united kingdoms, are as much the offspring and race of the Picts as of the Scots: Consequently, that we are as much interested in the concerns of the Picts both in church and state, as we are with the Scots, and equally entitled to take a view, as distinctly as we can with the few helps we have, of the ecclesiastical antiquities of both. We all lay claim, and we think justly too, tho' from different motives,

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Jo. Maj.
hist. lib. i.
cap. 2.

Usher Pr.
cap. xv.
Crit. Ess. y
p. 153-166.

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tives, to Palladius, because it is said he was sent to the believing Scots, and every party among us agrees in calling him the first Scottish Bishop. Yet we have a cloud of concurring authorities that this first Bishop of the Scots died and was buried "in terra Pictorum," among the Picts—Is there not something here, sufficient to raise our curiosity, and to put us upon inquiring how this had come about? It is not said he was martyred among them, which would not have been omitted if the case had been so: And therefore it may be supposed they were friendly to him, and had heard of christianity either from him or from some one or other before him.

Indeed Buchanan, upon what authority I know not, would make us believe that the Picts were christians at the time of the expulsion of the Scots, and complains much of them for their cruelty to the then Scottish Priests and Monks, at the same time that they themselves were "publice christianis institutis imbuti," that is, made public profession of the christian rites. But Bede, an older writer by more than eight hundred years, attributes the conversion of the Picts to a Ninias or Ninianus, whom our vulgar language calls St. Rungan. For he says "The Southern Picts, who dwell on the South side of the mountains, leaving the errors of idolatry, had embraced the true faith by the preaching of Bishop Nynias, a reverend and holy man of the nation of the Britons, who had been regularly instructed in the mysteries of religion at Rome, and fixed his Episcopal seat at a place in the province of the Bernicians called "*Candida Caesa*," because he built there a church of white stone, contrary to the custom of the Britons."

For.

Buch. hist.
lib. iv. in
reg. 39.

Bed. lib. iii.
cap. 4.

Fordun specifies his being coeval with St. Martin LETTER IV.
 of Tours who died in 401, and says, he preached to the nations "ultra fretum Scoticum," which
 in Fordun's sense who lived at St. Andrews, Scotichr. lib. iij. cap. 9.
 means South of the Frith of Forth. Boece calls him the renowned Doctor of the Scots, Picts, and Britons: Tho' John Major, who was co-temporary with Boece, doubts of his having taught the Scots, from the collect which used to be read in the office for him, and begins thus, "God who by the doctrine of the holy Bishop and Confessor for Ninian didst teach the nations of the Picts and Britons," without mentioning the Scots. Boeth. lib. vii. Maj. lib. ii. cap. 2.
 The general voice of history calls him the Apostle of the Picts, and it is commonly thought he died about the year 430, when Palladius came over, who, as I hinted before, Buchanan out of his own head makes him one of Palladius' scholars, no doubt to put the better face upon the then favourite notion of Palladius being the first who made Bishops in Scotland. It is not material to enquire where these Southern Picts dwelt, as it is enough for my present purpose that they had a Bishop Ninian among them. Yet we may take a look at this question too. Fordun says, they dwelt to the South of the Scottish Frith: And Raulphus in his Polychronicon tells us more particularly, "That they dwelt in that part of the island which, extending from the Roman wall to the Scottish sea, contained in it Galloway and Lothian." But Archbishop Usher will not allow this, and confines them to the countries between the Forth and the Grampian hills, where the writer of St. Ninian's life says, "He ordained Presbyters, consecrated Bishops, divided the land into dioceses, and having settled all in the faith,

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Uth. Prim.
cap. 15.

"returned to his own see." The Primate seems to have no other reason for removing these Picts to the North of the Forth, than because, as he thinks, that Southern tract having been reduced into a Roman province by the name of Valentia, was in Ninian's time possessed by the Britons, and in Ede's time by the Northumbrian Angles. Yet that province we are told, was erected in 368, after which the Roman power began to decline more and more in these parts: Till at last, as Gildas complains, about the year 426, which coincides with Ninian's history, the Picts took peaceable possession of all the mid-land provinces towards the Eastern coast, up to the Northumbrian wall, and continued so till some time after the coming in of the Saxons in 449.

In any case we may date the first appearance of christianity among the Picts from the time of St. Ninian, and attribute it, in a great measure, if not entirely, to his labours. We are not to expect a regular succession or distinct account of church-matters in these confused times, and among a people so much addicted to war, and almost perpetually in the field, either marching against or retiring from enemies. It is very well, every thing considered, that we know so much of them as we do. About St. Ninian's time, from the bitter invectives that Gildas throws out against them, we find them as far South as the Northumbrian wall. When the Saxons came over, they soon made peace with the Picts, to turn their arms against the Britons who had sent for them: And tho' these Saxons, after having humbled the Britons, oft times fell upon the Picts also, and by degrees got such a footing in the midland provinces as to make them a part of the kingdom of Be-

nicia set up by Ida in 547, yet it does not appear LETTER IV.
 that the Picts of these parts were expelled, but still remained uneasy under the Saxon yoke, and ready on all opportunities to recover their possessions out of the hands of these new masters. So then according to the various events of these contentions, we may believe their church affairs would be regulated. Thus Bede tells us, that when Oswi King of the Northumbrians had in a great measure subdued the Picts and Scots who inhabited the North of Britain, (that is, the parts as far north as the Friths of Forth and Clyde, which these old writers oft suppose to be the Northern extremities of what they call Britain,) and made them tributary to him, he appointed Wilfrid, Archbishop of York, to be Bishop of the Picts, as far as Oswi's empire over them extended. In 670, Egfrid the son and successor of Oswi defeated the revolting Picts with a great slaughter. In 681, Wilfrid being on account of his pride and turbulent humour banished out of the Northumbrian territories, Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, who then was Wilfrid's enemy, divided the see of York into three or four Episcopal jurisdictions, and among the rest ordained one Trumwine Bishop of the province of the Picts which was then subject to the English: This Trumwine assisted at a synod held by Theodore in 685 at Twiford in Northumberland, and subscribes himself, Trumwine Bishop of the Picts. That same year Egfrid was killed in battle by the Picts, who thereupon, says Bede, "recovered all their possessions which the Angles had held: And Trumwine, who had been their Bishop, retired with his Monks and Clergy, from Abercorn in the neighbourhood of the Forth, where they

Bed. Hist.
 lib. iv. c. 3.

Bed. lib. i. c. 26.

LETTER IV. "had resided, to the monastery of Streneshal, now Whitby, where he died." I have taken the more notice of all this, both to shew the confused and fluctuating state of the Southern parts of what is now Scotland, when the inhabitants first came over to christianity, and to confirm the probability I have already mentioned, of these people's having been assisted and directed in their conversion by the clergy in their Southern neighbourhood, who, we are sure, as far back as we have any certainty about them, whether Britons or Saxons, were always, without interruption, under the inspection of Bishops. This then was the situation of church affairs at first and for some tract of time, in the Southern division of these Picts, whom I have no scruple to call, in part, our ancestors.

But there was another division of them, to the North of the Grampian hills, and extending all along the Eastern coast of what is now called the Lowlands, to the utmost extremity of the island, even as some think to the very Orkneys. These were not so soon converted as their Southern countrymen, probably because of their so much greater remoteness from the opportunities of British assistance. For Bede tells us, it was only in the year 565, which was the 9th year of their King Brude, son of Meilochon, that the gospel was preached to them by the labours and piety of the famous Columba. This man was born in Ireland, about the year 520, of noble parentage, and being obliged, on account of some religious differences, to leave his native country, where he had long been conspicuous for his zeal and regularity, came over to the Western isles of Scotland, and got one of them, then called Hy, in donation

Bede. lib. iii.
cap. 4.

Usher de
Prim.
cap. 15.

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from the Scottish King Convallus, where he founded a monastery under his own inspection as Abbot, which in process of time became, and long continued, of great repute over all Britain. This is that island which Boece calls Iona, and to which he says Fergus II. sent the valuable collection of books from Rome: Tho' by the undoubted testimony of cotemporary writers we are assured Columba was the first who began a monastery in it, and from whom it seems to have got the name of Iona, which signifies in Hebrew what Columba does in Latin, a Dove, as in honour of him it is to this day called Hy-Columkill. This holy man's life was written about eighty years after his death by Adamnanus, one of his successors in the government of that monastery, which, next to the writings of Gildas, is the most ancient historical piece remaining of any British writer. And by it we are informed, that Columbus' journeys from Hy, going to and returning from the habitation of Brude King of the Picts, were by Lough-ness: Whence it appears, that besides the ordinary abode of the Pictish Kings at Abernethy in Strathern, King Brude must have had another residence at the North end of Lough-ness, and that probably too his dominions extended to the Orkneys, since we find Columba intreating King Brude to command the Prince of the Orkneys (who was present, and had given hostages to Brude for his fidelity) to be favourable to the Monks whom Columba had sent to these islands. This Brude was a pagan, and shut his doors against Columba when he first went to visit him: But the assiduity and perseverance of the holy man prevailed, and laid such a foundation for the general conversion of that whole division, that

Usher de
Prim. c. 15.
Innes,
Crit. Essay,
p. 83--93.

LETTER that he is justly esteemed the Apostle of the
 IV. Northern Picts, as St. Ninian so long before is of
 the Southern. And thus we see how and when
 christianity was begun among that once renowned
 people of the Picts, from whom I have said the
 present inhabitants of Scotland are, in all proba-
 bility, as much descended, and with whom, in
 that case, they certainly are as much connected
 as they are from or with the Scots.

But these two, Ninian and Columba, are not
 the only respectable names in the religious history
 of our country in these early times. We read of
 a St. Servanus, whom our historians make a disci-
 ple of Palladius, and they further say that Pal-
 ladius ordained him Bishop, and sent him to the
 Orkneys. The writer of St. Mungo's life, whom
 Archbishop Usher quotes as prior to Fordun, says
 that "Palladius, on his coming to Scotland,
 " found there the holy man Servanus, and took
 " him to be his fellow-labourer in the Lord's
 " vineyard." So it would seem Servanus had
 been here before Palladius, and had got some sort
 of residence about the Frith of Forth: for Fordun,
 speaking of the island of Inch-keith, says, " In
 " presided the Abbot S. Adammanus, who honour-
 " ably received St. Servanus with his compani-
 " ons on their first coming into Scotland." And
 in the life of St. Mungo we read that Servanus
 baptized him at Culinross, now Culross in Fife,
 where he was born. Which traditions, if true,
 make this old Saint belong to the Picts, as much
 as his being employed by Palladius would, on the
 common hypothesis, assign him to the Scots.

Another shining character in these old chro-
 nicles is Kentigern, or St. Mungo: Of whom
 tradition goes that he was of Royal blood, being

Usher de
 Prim. c. 15.

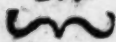
Scotichr.
 Lib. i.
 cap. 6.

was supposed, the son of Eugenius III. King of the Scots by a Thametis, daughter or grandchild to a Lothus King of the Picts; that his mother, to conceal her disgrace, bore him privately at Culrofs on the Forth, that St. Servanus baptized the child there, and called him first *Kean-tiern*, which signifies *Head-Lord*, but afterwards, on seeing the boy's good qualities, gave him the familiar appellation of *Mungbu*, dear friend, whence came both his names, the Latin *Kentigernus* and vulgar *Mungo*. But there is a difficulty in this account of making Servanus baptize Mungo, if Servanus was a man of repute when Palladius came to the country in 430, and if it be true which John of Tinmouth writes of Mungo, that he went to Rome to visit Pope Gregory, who came to the Poppedom in 590. In which case either Servanus or Kentigern must have lived to an extreme old age, much beyond the common length of life even in those days. I know this difficulty has been foreseen by Kentigern's biographers, and a solution offered, by telling us that he lived a hundred and eighty five years, which indeed removes the objection, but at the expence of a very great improbability. Yet we have good authority to be assured that there was such a person; that he was a good and holy man; that he preached the gospel in the country about Glasgow, and founded a church there, where the cathedral to this day is called after him St. Mungo's; that being driven from that see by the iniquity of one Merkin, a petty prince of the country, he retired into North Wales, and sat some years Bishop in a place called Elwy; that being invited back by Merkin's successor Roderick, he left his charge in Wales to his disciple Afaph, (from whom it has been

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been long called the diocese of St. Afaph,) and returned to Glasgow, where he died in a good old age. This is all that can be gathered with any confidence concerning him, out of the various, and some of them unchronological, accounts of him that his historians have published to the world.

I might have mentioned sundry other old preachers in our country, of whom we have only the names extant; and these names too so much contended about, that we are not certain whether they belonged to our forefathers or not. But these I have mentioned admit of no dispute, and are allowed by universal consent to have planted the gospel at various times, and in the various parts of what is now called Scotland. Even Palladius himself, whom from our present title of Scots we pretend to have most concern in, notwithstanding of all the stir that the Irish writers have made to confine him to their country, is acknowledged by these very writers to have died in what is now our country, and a place in our country retains his name and memory to this day.

Upon the whole then, from what has been said this much follows, that in the space of about two hundred years, from the year 400 or thereabout, to the year 603 when Columba died, we see in this country a Ninian among the Southern Picts and at Whitehern in Galloway, a Palladius sent to the Scots and dying in the Merns, a Servanus at Culrofs, a Kentigern at Glasgow, and a Columba in the Western isles and at Lochness. And, except Columba, we find them all called Bishops and spoken of as performing all the offices, and exercising all the powers that ever any of the pri-

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primitive Bishops did. Whether they possessed the large revenues, or enjoyed the splendid dignities of modern Bishops, is not a material question.— They were Bishops in the true Apostolical sense, and that is sufficient for the friends of Episcopacy. The darkness of those ages, as well as the confused unsettled state of our country, for a long time after it became christian, prevents our getting such clear intelligence in these matters, as the Eastern parts of the world, and the annals of polite Greece and Rome afford. Any civilization of our Northern parts came in with christianity, and it is not to be expected that in the dawning of that civilization our country should be able to furnish such accurate historians as those nations who had been so long polished and improved before us. We are now advancing to an era of some more light and intelligence, than what we have yet met with, though still not so clear and satisfactory as could be wished. However, such as it is, my next letter shall begin to lay it open: Mean time, I conclude this with being, as ever,

Yours, &c.

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V.



L E T T E R V.

Mission of Augustin into Britain by Pope Gregory—Consequences of it—Account of the ecclesiastical Historian Bede—and of the Pictish Churches as recorded by him and others. Story of Regulus, with the Relicks of St. Andrew—Account of the Pictish Church concluded.

WHEN I call the mission of Augustin and his associates into Britain by Pope Gregory, an era of more light and intelligence than what we have yet met with, I do not mean that any new illumination was thereby conveyed to our country, but only that the old communication was again opened, which had formerly subsisted between the island of Britain, and the polite part of the continent. This communication had been in a great measure interrupted, during the most of the time when those christian Worthies flourished, whom I have mentioned in the preceding letter. The power of the Romans was much diminished both at home and abroad, about the time of Palladius. Not many years after, they withdrew their troops altogether out of Britain. And in their room, the Saxons, a heathen and barbarous race, got entrance.—

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These perfidious auxiliaries soon turned their arms against the poor christian Britons, and drove such of them as escaped their butchering hands into the mountains of Wales, or over the Solway Firth into the South-west parts of Scotland. The Scots and Picts all this time were likewise in perpetual agitation; sometimes fighting with one another, sometimes assisting the Southern contenders, and many times obliged to defend their own territories against the Saxon invaders. They had little or no acquaintance with writers abroad, who might have recorded their transactions, and little leisure or quiet at home to record them themselves.

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With respect to Ireland, the case seems to have been very different. That island, tho' so near to Britain which was one entire scene of confusion and tumult, had long enjoyed peace. The Romans had never attempted a settlement in it, tho' so oft provoked by the Scots making inroads into the British territories: Which, by the by, is another proof that these Scots had not come out of Ireland on such incursions, since it is more than probable, if the Romans had known so, that they would, when victorious as they oft were, have pursued these pillagers, as they called them, into their own country, and taken revenge of them at home. Neither Picts, Britons, nor Saxons ever looked towards Ireland with hostile designs. Some squabbles might have been now and then among their petty lords and princes at home: But they were not molested by foreign enemies; and it was not till near three hundred years after the period now before us, that the Norwegians, under their leader Turgesius, made that lamentable devastation in it for thirty years, of which

LETTER their writers give such a tragical description.

V. Accordingly when St. Patrick landed in Ireland, which was much about the time of Palladius, we find his business going on quietly enough on the whole, notwithstanding of a few interruptions now and then, and churches planted thro' various parts of the island in such order, and with such continuance of success, that before the year 600, which I am supposing terminates our British era of darkness, there were Bishoprics erected, and monasteries and colleges founded and flourishing in almost every province of it. And what could this so glaring difference be owing to, but to the calm and freedom from external invasions which Ireland was blest with, while the poor island of Britain continued a perpetual field of desolation and bloodshed to the warlike Picts, the fierce Scots, the persecuted Britons, and the barbarous Saxons, divided at last among themselves into their heptarchy or seven kingdoms?

A. D.
596.

But when Augustin, or Austin, came over, the condition of Britain had begun to put on another kind of face. In the North, the Picts had been enlightened by the rays of the gospel breaking in upon them, from the preaching of a British Ninian and an Irish Columba. The Scots had got full time to model their government into some sort of regular order, and were beginning to attend more to police than to plunder. The old Britons, after many fruitless struggles for liberty, had now sat down more contentedly than for many years past in the wild and confined habitations to which they were reduced: And the victorious Saxons had at last been satisfied with the fine provinces which they had got possession of either by arms or treaty, and began to look abroad to the neighbouring

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continent for alliances and connexions. For about
 this time we read, that Ethelbert the King of Kent,
 and most powerful of all the Saxon Monarchs, had
 married Bertha, daughter to Charibert, one of the
 Kings of Gaul, who being a Christian, had pac-
 ioned with Ethelbert for her religion, and had
 brought a Bishop Luidard out of Gaul with her.
 Here then, besides a door opened to Austin,
 which the writers on the Romish side have not
 properly acknowledged, we find a correspondence
 appearing which had not been for many years
 before, and which in time would no doubt tend
 to produce the desirable effects of cultivation and
 refinement. And as these happy effects are by
 all judicious writers confessed to have been owing
 to the Roman settlements in Britain, without jus-
 tifying the ambition and lust of power from
 which these settlements arose, so we need not he-
 sitate to attribute the same good consequences to
 the mission of Austin and his companions, without
 being obliged to approve the title, or homologate
 the claims, of him who sent them. We see chri-
 stianity stepping in among the Saxons before Gre-
 gory thought proper to take any notice of them.
 And as it was acknowledged, with respect to the
 Scots to whom Palladius was sent, that they were
believers in Christ, so was the case with the Sax-
 ons too: There were believers, and the means
 of believing among them, before Austin had any
 thing to do with them. And these weak be-
 ginnings might have in time and by degrees in-
 creased and spread over the whole land, tho' nei-
 ther Gregory nor any of his successors had ever
 interfered. For, even as it was, this mission was
 much forwarded by the correspondence already
 formed between the Kentish and Gaulish courts,
 which

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Bed. lib. 1:
cap. 25.

LETTER which gave Austin the benefit of Gallic interpreters to go with him: And when he landed, he found a King who had heard of christianity, a Queen who with her retinue made public profession of it, a Bishop with clergy to govern and assist that infant church, and a temple or church of old standing, since the times of British christianity, where the Queen and her Bishop met for the offices of christian worship. Here then was a foundation laid, and that too on a new and friendly intercourse between the pagan Saxons and christian Franks, which, in process of time, Bishop Luidard and Queen Bertha might have built upon, and raised a goodly structure from.

But not to insist further upon this, it is enough for me to take the fact as it stands, and to date from this period a new era of intelligence and communication about the church affairs of the whole island. For in less than a century after Austin, arose the Venerable Bede, as he is called, who is the first proper ecclesiastical historian that Britain can boast of. The Adamnanus, whom I spoke of before, tho' he was a little older than Bede, wrote only the life of his predecessor Columba, and confined himself to the labours of that Saint in the monastery of Hy, and among the Northern Picts. But Bede, having by his connexions a more extensive correspondence, took a larger compass, and thro' his history of the Saxon churches, which seems to have been his main design, intersperses all that he knew of ecclesiastical matters among the other nations of Britain. And he had good opportunity of being tolerably well acquainted with the Northern nations, being born in what is now called the bishoprick of Durham, and residing all his time in

in the monastery of Wiremouth in that district, not far distant from the Pictish borders. From him therefore we have the first sure beginnings of acquaintance even with our own church concerns. And tho', when he goes back to the remote antiquities of our original plantations, and has nothing but vague reports at such a vast distance of time to trust to, he may sometimes fall into mistakes, as later critics have discovered; yet in his accounts of such things as were so near to his own day, especially of ecclesiastical matters, which seem to have been his principal study, he certainly deserves all the credit usually given to writers of his character. From him we have learned the conversion of the Southern Picts by St. Ninian, and from Adamnanus that of the Northern Picts by St. Columba. For method's sake therefore let me at once discuss what we know of the church history of that people, from the era of their respective conversions down to their union with, or subjection to the Scots under Kenneth Macalpin. And for this, little tho' it be, we are obliged to Bede, and some few remains of Pictish annals that have come down to our times. Indeed it is but some loose and scattered hints that we have to trust to. A continued chain of history is not to be expected. Some fragments have been met with and preserved by a few curious antiquaries. The laborious Mr. Thomas Innes has published an old chronicle or catalogue of the Pictish Kings, from their first King Cruithne down to Brude their last King, which tho' Mr. Goodall seems to disfigure on account of some chronological defects, yet it appears on the main to be not altogether contemptible, as it contains some anecdotes re-

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Scott. Hist.
Libr. ch. ii.
Crit. Essay
p. 101-140.
and
773-778.
Introduct.
ch. 9.

la-

LETTER lative to our present inquiry. In it we read, the
V. in the nineteenth year of Drust the son of E
 their thirty seventh King, the holy Bishop Patrick
 landed in Ireland: That Neftan Morbet, son of
 Erp their thirty ninth King, in the 5th year
 of his reign gave Abernethy with its pertinence
 to God and St. Brigide, in presence of a holy
 Abbess Dairlugtach, who sung Allelujah over the
 donation. Fordun indeed says, it was Garna
 son of Domnach, (whom the chronicle makes the
 fiftieth King,) who built the collegiate church of
 Abernethy, which place he adds was the chief
 seat, both royal and episcopal, of all the kingdome
 of the Picts for many years. The chronicle like-
 wise tells us, that Brude son of Meilochon their
 forty ninth King, was baptized by St. Columba in
 the ninth year of his reign, which Bede says, in
 conformity to the computation of years in the ca-
 talogue, was the year 565. From other accounts
 we learn, that a Constantine King of the Picts
 founded the bishoprick of Dunkeld, and a Hun-
 gus, cotemporary with our Achaius, endowed
 Kilremont, now St. Andrews. And the chartu-
 lary of St. Andrews mentions a Brude son of De-
 gard, their last King before their union, who
 gave Lochlevin to God and St. Servanus.

Scotichron.
 lib. iv. c.
 12.

Ford. c.
 13, 14.

Folio 50, 51.

Such is the lame and imperfect intelligence we
 are able to pick out of scattered fragments, and
 find it difficult enough, I own, to knit these ac-
 counts to one another, or adjust them to the rules
 of chronology. Yet in general they shew, that
 christianity had made a considerable progress a-
 mong the Picts, and was liberally supported, ac-
 cording to the piety of those times. It has been
 thought that they had but one Bishop at a time,
 and that his seat was at Abernethy the metro-

po-

read, the polis of the kingdom: And this too has been improved into an objection against modern Episcopacy by the impugnors of that constitution. But who' it had been so, of which however we have no certainty, such a provision might have served the exigencies of the church in those days, and among a people who probably were not all, and at once converted from paganism, so might have been supplied in sacred ministrations by inferior clergy under the inspection of one Bishop. It was so, as we read in church history, with the Scythians and Goths who, for a long time after christianity got footing among them, had but one Bishop to take care of them. Indeed of the regular and continued succession of our Pictish Bishops we have few, if any, certain accounts, which is neither to be wondered at, nor made a handle of one way or other, as it is not singular. For in the early times of ecclesiastical antiquity, history presents us with a vast number of churches in Africa, Asia, Greece, &c. where we are sure, from corresponding documents, there were regular, continued successions of Bishops, and yet we know nothing of the names of most of these Bishops, unless any of them now and then made a figure, or were engaged in any controversy or important business that came within the sphere of history to take notice of. And this seems to have been the case with our Pictish churches.— They had few or no historians of their own, and they were not conspicuous enough on the stage of Europe to have their ecclesiastical affairs handed down to posterity by foreigners. Yet we have the names of some of their Bishops preserved to this day. Their first converter Ninian is called a Bishop by all who speak of him, as

M

well

LETTER
V.

LETTER well as his cotemporaries Ambrose or Augustin
 V. are. We read of a Columba about the year 640
 Bishop of Dunkeld, which at that time belonged
 to the Picts, and who educated the famous St.
 Cuthbert. I have already mentioned a Trum-
 wine Bishop at Abercorn among the Picts about
 the year 680. In a council held at Rome by
 Pope Gregory II. in 721, we find among the sub-
 sscribers a "Fergusus Episcopus Scotiae Pictus"
 Pictish Bishop of Scotland, along with a Sedu-
 lius "Episcopus Britanniae de genere Scotorum,"
 Bishop of Britain from the nation of the Scots.
 Even as far down as towards the close of the
 Pictish monarchy, according to Archbishop Usher,
 we meet with a Tarnanus Bishop of the Picts,
 whom yet the primate would be claiming to
 Ireland by producing an old martyrology where
 there is mention of a St. Tarnanus, Bishop of
 Lismore in Ireland. Perhaps this Tarnanus Bishop
 of the Picts may be the same with the disciple of
 Palladius whom Boece calls Tervanus, and For-
 dun Tarananus, but who, in any shape, seems to
 have been a man of great repute, as there is a
 place called after him to this day Banchory Tar-
 nan, and his memory preserved, as is the common
 way among us, by a market, St. Tarnan's Fair,
 about the middle of June, like the Paddy-fair in
 honour of his predecessor, and probably his master
 Palladius.*

Usher de Pr.
 cap. xv.

Fleur. hist.
 Eccles. ad
 721.

Usher ut
 supra.

* This place, which stands upon Dee twelve miles or so West from Aberdeen, tho' now but a petty obscure village, appears from the name of it to have been a place of some account, like the famous Banchor in Wales, which in the British language, we are told, signifies "pulcher chorus" the fair or goodly choir, and was once a renowned monastery and the seat of learning in that country, but different from the now bishoprick of Bangor.

I have not, in this collection of broken intelligence about the Pictish church, taken any notice of the wonderful story of Regulus with the relicts of the Apostle St. Andrew, under a Pictish King Hergulf, about the year 360, which has been much insisted on, and even made the foundation of our metropolitanical see of St. Andrews, but is so confounded with jarring narrations, and wrapped up in such a cloud of fable, that it will not go down with an age so hard to please in these matters as ours is. I know the Barons of Scotland

LETTER
IV.

Carnarvon shire: For the old monastery of Banchor, which has long been in ruins, was in Flintshire, upon a river called Dee too, which separates this part of Wales from Cheshire. It was the Abbot of this monastery, Dinotus, who opposed the pretensions of the Pope's missionary Austin, and resolutely told him, that he and his Monks owed obedience to none upon earth, but, under Christ, to their metropolitan the Bishop of Caerleon upon Elk: in punishment of which contumacy, it is said that, according to Austin's prophecy, Edilfrid King of the Northumbrian Saxons soon after marched an army against them, and murdered eleven hundred and fifty of them in one day. It is certain they had long been a respectable body, and as it were, an academy to all the South parts of Britain. There was likewise in Ireland, and no doubt in imitation of this British one, a monastery of Banchor in Ulster, founded by a St. Congal about the year 560.—Why then may not our Banchory be supposed to have had its name from some resemblance to the British Banchor, and so to have been a choir or seat of clergy to the Picts of that district, either founded or pitched upon by Bishop Tarnanus to be his residence in the neighbourhood, as it is, of his predecessor's Fordun? The decay of the place now from what perhaps it has been a thousand years ago, needs be no greater objection to this supposition than the present condition of Abernethy in Strathern is against its having once been the habitation of the Pictish Kings. If so, it points out the remains at least of a church settlement in these Northern parts, and shews that, however mean and undistinguished a spot this Banchor Tarnani is now, it may have been a college of clergy for the instruction of our forefathers long before either Aberdeen or Mortlich.

LETTER

V.

Buch. hist.
lib. 5. in
reg. 65.

in their instructions to their commissioners at Rome, and afterwards in their famous letter to the Pope, do build much upon this legend: But these great men were not critics: Neither did their cause require it. All they had to do, was to produce some counter plea of antiquity, whether just or not, to bear down, with an equal face of effrontery, the fabulous stories of the King of England in support of his unjust claim. A more likely beginning of a connection with St. Andrew might have been had from the later and better vouched account in our historians, and even in Buchanan himself, of St. Andrew appearing to the then Pictish King Hungus about the year 800 or so, and promising him the victory over his enemies, which accordingly he gained the next day. That our forefathers must have had some cause or other for a particular regard to the memory of this Apostle, appears from his having been always reckoned the Patron-Saint of Scotland, as long, at least, as it was fashionable for nations to observe such distinctions, and pick out their patrons from the Kalendar. This is a well known fact, and whatever light it may be viewed in now, whether as an insignificant whim or a preposterous practice, it is certain our ancestors thought otherwise. But whence should the Scots have derived this peculiar veneration for St. Andrew? It was not to *their* country, nor among them that the Achaian Monk Regulus brought his relics. It was not to a King of theirs that the Apostle is said to have appeared. It was the people of the Picts who had the glory of all this: Yet the Scots claimed it as belonging to them. What could this be owing to, but to a belief that their Kings were the proper successors to those Pictish

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ish Kings, not the destroyers of the nation? And
 consequently that they were justly entitled to
 every privilege or part of character which their
 Pictish predecessors had ever enjoyed. Before I
 have done with the Pictish church, it may be pro-
 per to give some account of the successors of
 St. Ninian in his see of *Candida Casa* or *White-*
hern, which, whatever it did then, has now for
 many years belonged to our kingdom of Scot-
 land. But indeed from the time of that venerable
 Prelate, who died in it about the year 430, we
 have nothing on record about it, till near three
 hundred years after, that we meet with a Pecthel-
 mus in it. It is true Boece pretending Bede's
 authority, speaks of an Acca in it. But Bede
 himself, who was acquainted with Acca, places
 him in Hagulstad, now Hexam, and makes Pec-
 thelmus his cotemporary. To Pecthelmus suc-
 ceeded Frithwald in 735, in whose time Egbert
 King of the Northumbrians, and Unnust King
 of the Picts, took Alcluid, and brought all the
 people of that province under their subjection.—
 To Frithwald in 763 succeeded Pechtwin: To
 Pechtwin Ethelbert in 777: To Ethelbert in 791
 Beadwulf, and then a Hethred, after whose time
 that country was seized by the Scots, and by
 them called Galloway, which came under the in-
 spection of the Bishop of Sodor in Man, till
 Malcolm Canmoir restored the see of Whitehern,
 and made it the cathedral of Galloway ever after.
 Such have been the alterations and vicissitudes of
 government in these parts: And it is not to be
 wondered at, if the records of the church should
 have proportionably suffered amidst these confu-
 sions of the state. I always am,

Yours, &c.

LETTER

LETTER
V.

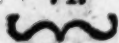
Boeth. Hist.
Lib. 9.

Bed. lib. v.
cap. 24.

Uth Prim.
cap 15.

LETTER

VI.



L E T T E R VI.

Farther Account of Columba, and of the Monastery which he founded in Hy—Passage of Bede relating to it—Story of Columba recorded by Adamnanus—Mission of Aidan, Finan, and Colman, from the Monastery of Hy, to the Northumbrian Church—these three proved to be Bishops of Lindisfarne in that Church.

HAVING, in the preceding letter, finished what little account we can give of the ecclesiastical affairs of the Picts, we return now to the other half of our original stock, the Scots; and perhaps we shall not find much to say of them, during the period we are now looking back to. We have heard of a Palladius sent from Rome to them about the year 430, and of a Columba from Ireland getting a residence among them in 565. But here is a long interval of more than a hundred and thirty years, which we do not well know how to fill up. Our own historians indeed, of whom the oldest extant is eight hundred years posterior to this period, are at no more loss for this space, than they were for the space of two hundred years before. But they have produced no good vouchers for what they

they say of either. As the uncertainty, or I may say, the improbability of the story of the first forty Kings, leaves us quite in the dark with regard to that long disputed period: So the debates about Palladius are equally unfavourable to a right understanding of his history, and of the state of the Scottish church when he was sent to it. And even when we look forward to the time of Columba, which comes now under our view, we can only learn in general, from the best accounts that have been handed down to us, that the greater part of the Scots then were christians, that their Kings were so, and that there seems to have been something of church order among them. That this had been begun by Palladius may be admitted; but, as appears most likely, with no great success: Probably for want of the language, as it is not to be thought that a Roman clergyman would be acquainted with our old Gaelic, or that the believing Scots would understand his Latin. This inconvenience, it seems, had been feared and attended to in some subsequent missions. For Bede tells us, that when Augustine and his companions had, in obedience to Pope Gregory's orders, gone so far on their journey toward Britain, they began to be discouraged from the attempt upon many considerations, of which this was not the least, that they did not understand the language of the country: Upon which the Pope procured them Interpreters from France, who from the affinity of the two languages might be of use to them; and to this assistance we may reasonably impute a great part of the success of the undertaking. But we do not read of any such provision in the mission of Palladius from the same quarter, so that we cannot

LETTER
VI.Bede. lib. 12
cap. 23. 25.Col. Hist.
b. 2. p. 64.

EX-

LETTER VI. expect to find such a rich harvest under such a sensible disadvantage. Yet some little thing might have been done during even the short time that he continued in this country: And any scattered seeds of the faith which, it seems, had been, by some means or other, sown among the Scots before his coming, might have been encouraged and brought forward by what little watering or culture he was able, or had time to bestow upon them. But how the work was carried on from his time to the time of Columba we have little or no certainty. Even Archbishop Spotswood cannot in all that space find the name of any preachers of character among the Scots, but a Hildebert and his scholar Sedulius, whose his brother-primate and cotemporary Usher will not yield to us, but claims, and with reasons of all appearance very cogent, to his own country of Ireland. When Columba indeed appeared among them, there break out some clearer rays of light concerning them. The monastery which by the gift of the then Scottish King Conall, who, we are told, was a most pious man, he founded in Hy, soon became famous, and made as great a figure in the church-annals of North Britain, as Banchor did in the South. Columba himself was the first governor or Abbot of it, and we have the names of nine of his successors in that office from the year 597, when he died to the year 710, viz. Baithenus, Fergnaus, Segennius, Suibneus, Cumineus Albus, Failbeus, Adamanus, Conanus and Dunchadus. And Bede tells us further, that this monastery of Hy or Ycolmkill still retained a superiority over all the monasteries of Columba's foundation, either in Britain or Ireland, so that all the monasteries

A. D.
565.

Usher de.
Prim. c. 15.
Bed. lib. iii.
c. 3.

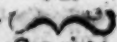
both among the Scots and Northern Picts were LETTER
 subject to it, which may serve to explain that VI.
 other mistaken passage of the same Bede, where
 And as he says, "That island uses to have for its gover- Bed. lib. iii.
 nor a Presbyter Abbot, to whose jurisdiction all c. 3.
 the province, and the very Bishops, by an
 unusual regulation (*ordine inusitato*) ought to
 be subject, after the example of the first Doc-
 tor of it, who was not a Bishop, but a Pres-
 byter and Monk."

This humiliating observation of Bede's has
 been much laid hold of by all the opposers of
 Episcopacy, both foreign and domestic, and suf-
 ficient answers have been as oft given to the ar-
 guments drawn from it. It is needless to say
 that Bede might have been mistaken, which in-
 deed would cut the knot at once. But we may
 safely say that his words have been mistaken, and
 miserably perverted to a quite different meaning
 from what one of his principles could have in-
 tended. It is plain he calls this subjection *an*
unusual custom, and derives it entirely from re-
 spect to the memory of the great Columba. He
 says, the Bishops were subject, &c. But what
 Bishops? Not all the Bishops of these countries,
 but the Bishops of that one province; the pro-
 vince where Columba had employed his labours,
 and in which there might be but one Bishop at
 a time, and in regular succession from one to ano-
 ther, which may very well account for Bede's
 calling them Bishops in the plural number. This
 is Archbishop Usher's reasoning upon the sub-
 ject, who is not in general esteemed a friend to
 Episcopacy, and yet will not give up this argu-
 ment from Bede in favour of its opponents. Yea,
 he tells us, from the Ulster annals, that there was

Usher de
 Prim. c. 15.

LETTER
VI.

always a Bishop residing in the island of Hy, besides the Abbot of the monastery. I know these annals of Ulster are little thought of by some, as having been made up in one of the dark and ignorant ages: But Archbishop Usher was a sufficient judge to distinguish what was genuine and credible in them, and to make use of it accordingly. But whether it was so or not, we have undoubted testimony of Columba himself respecting the Episcopal character, from the famous story related by Adamnanus in his life of Columba. "A certain Bishop came to Hy, who being willing to conceal his character, and pass for a Priest only, out of a more than ordinary submission and modesty, Columba upon the Lord's day desired him to assist him at the consecration of the Eucharist: But when the stranger came up to the altar to break the holy bread, as the custom of that place was, when two priests were at church together, Columba looking stedfastly upon him, and discovering his character, desired him to make use of the privilege of his order by breaking the bread alone: For, said he, now we know that you are a Bishop: Why therefore have you endeavoured to conceal yourself, and hinder us from giving you due respect and veneration?" From this story, related by such an early and cotemporary writer, and a writer too never yet called in question by any judicious antiquary or critic, we may draw, besides the inference I adduced it for, these other two observations: First, that in those days the Scottish church broke the holy bread at the consecration, and no doubt the church of Rome then did so too, tho' it is certain, this practice, warranted as it is by our Saviour's own example, and expressed in

all the antient liturgies in conformity to St. Paul's LETTER
 account of the institution, has been laid aside in VI.
 the Roman church, ever since their doctrine of 
 transubstantiation, made the use of separate wa-
 fers necessary to establish it against the concur-
 rent expressions of St. Paul, "This is my body
 which is broken," and of St. John, "A bone xix. 36.
 of him shall not be broken;" From compari-
 son of which two places, the inference is plain,
 that the Eucharistical body which was broken,
 could not be the natural body which was not
 to be broken. My second observation is, that
 when two Priests were present together, tho' the
 one might in those days assist the other in the
 consecration, which I do not know if it be any
 where customary now, yet no Priest could regu-
 larly exercise this part of his office in the presence
 of a Bishop, nor even concur with a Bishop in
 this action: But it was the privilege of the Bishop
 to perform it alone, and a privilege too, to which
 Columba, with all his authority, willingly, and de-
 cently yielded. Besides all this, and to strengthen
 my position of the island of Hy having a Bishop
 in it, we read, in the English church history, of a
 synod held somewhere in Northumberland in 785
 or 787, where there were six subscribing Bishops,
 at a time when there were but four sees in that
 kingdom, viz. York, Lindisfarn or Holy Island,
 Hagulstad or Hexam, and Candida Casa or White-
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LETTER church of My. However a writer of our own
VI. offers a very plausible solution of this difficulty, by
 thinking it probable that the transcriber, by a
 very possible mistake of one letter, may have set
 down Myiensis, for Hyiensis, the church of My in-
 stead of Hy, as he has certainly mistaken another of
 the sees, and called Hexam Augustad instead of Ha-
 gulfstad. If so, here is a Bishop of Hy, only fifty years
 after Bede's death, which makes it not unlikely
 there might have been one there in his time.

Coll. Hist.
 Book ii.
 p. 130.
 Life of Bp
 Sage, p. 53.

But there is little occasion for arguing upon the
 point. Let us take the passage in the strongest and
 most literal sense that the words can bear, and it
 says nothing to the purpose for which it has been
 so often adduced. The admirers of Monks
 may boast of it as exalting their prerogative: But
 it comes awkwardly and impertinently from the
 friends of ecclesiastical parity to make use of it.
 These Bishops who were subject to the Presbyters
 Abbot of Hy, were in Bede's time superior to
 other Presbyters, even by his acknowledgment.
 And if that Abbot claimed or exercised more su-
 periority than was willingly yielded to him, out
 of veneration to his predecessor Columba, it was
 an encroachment on the privileges of his breth-
 ren Presbyters, which affects the defenders of mi-
 nisterial parity, as much as it does the retainers of
 diocesan prelacy. The truth is, that however
 strange the passage may look when taken by itself,
 which is too much the way of managing such
 controversies, yet when connected with, and in-
 terpreted by the concurrent practice of the times,
 and by other accounts of the same historian, we
 shall find nothing in it but matter of mere com-
 pliment, and which militates not in the least a-
 gainst the name, or order, or distinguishing power

of Bishops. For that Bishops came out of this monastery of Hy, and went to other countries, is as certain as any thing can be in history: And this is so remarkable an event among the transactions of our old Scottish church, that it deserves to be taken particular notice of.

The case was this, as related by Bede. It seems Paulinus, who was one of Pope Gregory's original missionaries, and had been ordained Bishop of York in the kingdom of the Northumbrians, had upon the death of his favourite King Edwin, and the apostacy of his successors Ofrich and Eanfrid in 633, deserted his charge, and retired to the first converted country of Kent: Upon which Oswald, who the next year succeeded to both these apostates, having been, when in exile upon the death of his father Edilfrid who was a pagan, baptized and educated among the Scots, made application to them for a Bishop to instruct and govern, or perform Episcopal offices among his subjects. In return to this application, Segenius then Abbot of Hy, after one fruitless mission, sent a worthy man Aidan, who, by Oswald's permission took up his residence in Lindisfarne, a small island over against Berwick, now called Holy-island, where he exercised his Episcopal function with great success and applause for seventeen years, and upon his death in 651, was succeeded by Finan, who was sent from the same monastery of Hy, and sat Bishop of Lindisfarne ten years. After him came Colman, who because of the disputes about Easter continued but three years, and then returned with the most of his clergy to his own country. Upon which the clergy of the Romish mission entered again into the Northumbrian church, and peaceably enjoyed the fruits of what

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Bed. Hist. 2
Liii. passim.

labours these three Bishops from Hy had bestowed upon the people, whom, thirty years before Paulinus had forsaken. This is a short abridgement of this whole affair, which Bede has given such an ample narration of, and which, though perhaps not immediately belonging to the particular history of our own church, is such a noble monument of the reputation and zeal of our forefathers, that I persuade myself every true hearted Scotsman will receive it with pleasure.

Yet, honourable as it is for our country, there are some among us, who put a very different construction on it, from what was intended by the original relater. They will not admit these three missionaries from Hy to have been Bishops, at least, they say, in the modern sense of the word. They will allow them the levelling titles of clergy, or ministers or teachers, which is the common style generally used in treating of this subject. But Bede, who is the fountain of all our knowledge in the affair, is more particular. He expressly says, that King Oswald sent to the "majores natu" of the Scots; meaning by the "majores natu" not the old men with respect to age, who could be of no use to him in what he was wanting, but (in Tertullian's phrase, "seniores qui president," and indeed in current ecclesiastical style,) the venerable men who managed and presided in such matters. To them the King sent, begging, "ut sibi mitteretur Antistes," that they would send him, not ministers, or teachers in the plural number, but in the singular, "Antistes," the word he always uses to signify a Prelate or Bishop, as appears by what he immediately adds, "ac cepit namque Pontificem Aidanum, the King got Aidan a Pontifex," another distinguishing word

ord for a Bishop, and a Bishop too of some LETTER
 eminence. Buchanan indeed, at the same time VI.
 at he refers to Bede, tells us that the then
 Scottish King Donald sent *teachers* to Oswald, Buch. hist.
lib. v. in
reg. 53.
Boeth.
lib. ix.
 and Boece before him had said much the same,
 which, whatever design either of them might
 have had, seems to alter the sense and weaken
 the force of Bede's expressions. For by his ac-
 count, it is evident that it was not a teacher on-
 ly, or one of the inferior clergy that Oswald
 wished to have. His people were not altogether
 destitute of what assistance might be expected from
 one of this character. Paulinus, before his going
 away, had left in his church of York, a deacon
 named, whom Bede calls a truly ecclesiastic and
 holy man, and who, he says, continued long af-
 ter "by his teaching and baptizing, to rescue much
 prey from the old enemy." But this Deacon
 could not mould or organize a church, with all
 the powers of his order, or holiness of his con-
 fession: And therefore Oswald wished to have
 one who could do this; an Antistes, a Pontifex,
 an Episcopus, all which high prelatial titles Bede
 gives to Aidan. Now it was to the Scots that Of-
 swald applied for one of this character. And how
 could he, who came to them a Pagan of eleven
 years of age, and was made a Christian among
 them, have known any thing of the importance or
 necessity of such a character, if there had been no
 such character among them all the time he staid
 with them? It follows therefore, from the nature
 of King Oswald's request, and from the terms in
 which Bede expresses it, that the request was not
 to the Scottish King, who he knew, could not of
 himself grant it, but to the "*majores natu*," the
 proper persons, for a Bishop to inspect and ma-
 nage

Bed. lib. ii.
cap. 20.

LETTER VI. nage the affairs of the church in his kingdom as he had seen done under all the christian kings he knew any thing of. Accordingly Bede, who knew as well what belonged to the Episcopal character, and was as much concerned for the honour of his own order of presbyters, as any man in his day, expressly calls Aidan and his two successors *Bishops*, and says they ordained Bishops and Presbyters, called synods, in a word performed all the offices pertaining to that character, which any Bishop, antient or modern, ever performed. What more would an unprejudiced person require?

But, say our objectors, who consecrated and made them Bishops? It might as well be asked who consecrated the three hundred and eighty Bishops, who were present at the first council of Nice? No doubt Bede, who was born within a few years of these three Scottish Bishops of Lindisfarne, and in the bounds of what was once their jurisdiction, knew well enough the regularity of their consecrations, tho' he has not specified the name of their consecrations. This is no more than what other approved church-historians have done: as to many, indeed most of the Bishops they speak of, who yet have been acknowledged to have been Bishops in the strictest and most limited sense. Had Bede foreseen, or even suspected, that doubt would at any time arise about the office and order of Bishops in general, as distinguished from and superior to presbyters, he certainly would, if he well could, have been more particular and full in his accounts of three such famous men as Aidan, Finan, and Colman, whom he still calls Bishops, and upon whom, notwithstanding some singularities about them which he laments, he bestows the highest encomiums. But not to re-

kingdom together on this way of arguing, which yet LETTER
 might be thought conclusive enough against the VI.
 objection, let us see whether we cannot make
 something out of Bede, which, if not a direct an-
 swer, may lead to a fair enough solution of the
 question. He tells us, that the mission of Aidan
 from Hy was in the year 634: Now both before
 and about, and after that time, we find him mak-
 ing mention of Bishops in a country which he calls
 Scotland. Thus he tells us, that Laurence, who
 succeeded Augustine in the see of Canterbury
 about the year 604, in conjunction with his two
 brethren Bishops Mellitus and Justus, wrote a let-
 ter to the Bishops and Abbots "per universam
 Scotiam," over all Scotland. And John, the
 successor of Pope Honorius, about the year 642
 directed a letter to the Scottish Bishops, Presby-
 ters and Doctors, and mentioned five of their
 Bishops by name, viz. Thomianus, Columbanus,
 Dimanus, Chromanus, and Baithanus. Here then
 we have an account, and from Bede too, of Scot-
 tish Bishops cotemporary with Aidan and his suc-
 cessors: Might not some of them have been the
 consecrators of the Bishops of Lindisfarne? I
 know it is contended that these Bishops did not
 belong to us, but were Bishops in Ireland. Pri-
 mate Usher had led the way to this piece of cri-
 ticism: And after him, not only the Irish and
 English writers, but even some amongst ourselves
 in their quarrel with Episcopacy, have laid hold
 of this evasion as if it had been decisive. It is not
 denied that Bede calls the island of Ireland the
 country of the Scots, and sometimes gives it the
 name of Scotia, Scotland: But the letters, which
 he has recorded, no where bear such a restric-
 tion.

Bed. lib. iii.
cap. 4.

Ibid.
cap. 19.

LETTER tion.* And it is no less certain that he frequently speaks of the Scots being in Britain, and of their British habitation likewise Scotia, or Scotland. Thus speaking of Ceollach, one of the Bishops whom the Scottish Bishop Finan had consecrated for the Saxon kingdom of the Mercians he says, "This Ceollach was of the nation of the Scots: Who not long after, leaving the Episcopate, returned to the island of Hy, where the Scots have the capital and chief of many monasteries," which he explains in another place by saying, "The second Bishop here was Ceollach, who leaving the Episcopate returned to Scotland, being himself a Scotsman." 8
 1.3. cap.21. "likewise, in his account of the debate about Easter he says, "Colman seeing his doctrine and followers despised, returned to Scotland to confer with his own people what was to be done"

Col. Hist. b. 2. p. 80. * Here I cannot but take notice of the partiality of the English ecclesiastical historian Mr Collier, in his translation of Laurence's letter, from Bede, where, among other things, Laurentius says, "Scottos vero per Dagamum Episcopum in hanc quam superius memoravimus insulam, et Columbanum Abbatem in Gallijs venientem, nihil discrepare a Britonibus in eorum conversatione didicimus." Which literally, in Bede's careless use of the preposition "in" with the accusative or ablative, runs, "We have learned by the Bishop Dagamus in the forementioned island, and by the Abbot Columbanus coming into Gaul, that the Scots differ in nothing from the Britons." But Mr Collier renders it, "by the Bishop Dagamus sailing to this island, and by the Abbot Columbanus, whom we met with in France, &c." Making his readers believe, according to his own hypothesis, that the Scottish Bishop Dagamus belonged to Ireland, from his being obliged to come into Britain by sea, which Bede, whom he refers to, does not say: Tho' even if he had said so, it would not have fixed Dagamus to Ireland, since the Scottish island of Hy required sailing into Britain, as much as Ireland did.

"the

the affair." And what he means by Scotland LETTER VI.
 ere, he particularizes afterwards, "Colman cap. 26.
 came first to the island Hy whence he had been l. iv. c. 4.
 sent to preach to the English." His general
 relation of this mission is all in the same strain.
 It was among the Scots that Oswald was bap-
 tized: It was to the same Scots among whom he
 had been baptized, that he applied for a Bishop:
 it was from the island of Hy, which Bede owns
 belonged to Britain, that Aidan first, then Finan l. iii. c. 3:
 and Colman were sent. Bede calls them Bishops,
 originally belonging to, and receiving their cha-
 racter in a Scotland in Britain: Coeval with them
 he speaks of other Scottish Bishops, and gives us
 the names of some of them. What reason can be
 found in all that he says, for confining these other
 Bishops to Ireland, any more than the three who,
 he expressly says, belonged to and came from Hy
 in Scotland. Upon the whole then, we need be
 at no loss to account for the regularity of the
 consecration of these three Scottish Bishops of
 Lindisfarne, when we compare Bede's account of
 it, with his style and manner in other parts of his
 valuable history, tho' he has not in so many
 words told us who the particular Bishops were
 who bestowed this consecration upon them: And
 it clearly follows, that the then Scottish church,
 whether in Britain or Ireland, had Bishops in it,
 and was not so averse from Episcopacy on the
 one hand, nor on the other hand so obscure and
 unknown in the neighbourhood, as different
 people with different views have imagined. I
 say the Scottish church, whether in Britain or Ire-
 land. For allowing Archbishop Usher and his
 copiers all that they can squeeze out of Bede in
 derogation of our British Scotland at that time,

LETTER yet when it is remembered what a weight of influence, if we must not call it superiority, the church or monastery, or college of clergy at Hy is said to have had over the Northern Scots, including the people in the North of Ireland, and North-west parts of Britain, it must be acknowledged that they were all of one communion, had all the same principles, exercised the same discipline, and received the same form of ecclesiastical government: So that if the Northern parts of Ireland, which were under the obedience of what we may call the metropolis, at Hy, admitted Bishops among them, we may conclude the metropolis itself was not unfriendly to Episcopacy, especially since we are as certain as we can be of any thing, that the clergymen who were sent from it at three different times to form and govern the English church in Northumberland, were of the Episcopal order.

You will excuse this seeming digression from the historical part of my subject; and believe me,

Ever yours, &c.

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L E T T E R VII.

Controversy between the Church of Rome, and the British Churches, about the keeping of Easter—Share of the Scottish Bishops of Lindisfarne in that Controversy—The Northumbrian King decides in favour of the Romish Party, and puts an end to the Scottish Mission.

PERHAPS it will be said, there was no necessity for being at so much pains to prove, that the missionaries from Hy were of the Episcopal order, since it is yielded, that in their time, there was Episcopacy among the Scots, brought in at first by the Romish missionary Palladius, under the pretence of conveniency and decency, but afterwards wreathed upon their necks, by the arbitrary force of papal tyranny and ambition. This is the source of all that odium and contumelious usage which our Scottish episcopacy has had, I may say, the peculiar misfortune to labour under. The injustice of it sufficiently appears even from this consideration, that at the period we are now looking back to, it is certain the Scots knew little of the mighty power of the Church of Rome: Or, if they had begun to hear of it, they did not think themselves at all obliged to pay a blind obedience to it. For they

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they differed from that Church in some points which however insignificant they may now appear were in those days considered as matters of importance by both parties. They all agreed in solemnizing an annual festival, called Easter or Pasch, in commemoration of our blessed Saviour's resurrection. They knew that such a solemnity had been observed from the beginning; and they had devotion enough to feel the usefulness, if not the necessity, of celebrating such a glorious part of our Lord's history, by a particular day set apart for that purpose. But it appears that the church of Rome kept this festival of Easter upon one day, or rather according to one form of calculation, and the churches in Britain according to another. It is not very material to examine where the difference lay, or to take notice of the astronomical questions relative to that subject.—The controversy had been long and hotly managed; and it is well known what a noise Pope Victor (the very Pope from whom, Boece says, we got our christianity,) made about it; to such a degree indeed as to excommunicate the Asiatic churches for differing from him in it. This difference between the Roman and British churches about the observance of Easter, has been adduced as a proof that the churches in Britain had been founded by some of the disciples of St. John, because the Asiatic churches, in their contentions with Rome, alledged the authority of this Apostle for their practice: And Colman, the last of our Scottish Bishops at Lindisfarne, in the famous dispute he had with the Romish clergy on this subject, goes on the same footing of pleading St. John's example: Tho' it does not appear, that in so doing, he had any good ground to go upon.

For

For the Asiatic churches observed their Easter LETTER VII.
upon the fourteenth day of the moon, whatever day of the week it fell upon, whether on a Sunday or not, and for that reason were called *Quarodecimans*, or Fourteenth-day-men : Whereas the British churches always kept it on a Sunday, as Bede in many places assures us : For speaking of Columba and his successors in Hy, he says, " These men being placed as it were out of the world, and beyond the reach of having the synodical decrees about the Paschal observance notified to them, and trusting to erroneous calculations for the time of this high festival, diligently practised such works of piety and chastity as they had learned out of the prophetic, evangelic, and apostolic writings, but had a particular way of keeping Easter : Which yet they celebrated not on the fourteenth day of the moon, with the Jews, as some have thought, but always on the Lord's day, tho' many times not in the proper week : For, as Christians, they knew that the Lord's resurrection, which was accomplished on the first day of the week, ought to be commemorated on that day : But being little better than rude rustics, they had not learned to calculate when that particular first day came." And Bede. lib.iii: cap. 4.
again, speaking of Bishop Aidan, after having extolled him for every good quality that adorns the episcopal character, and even attributed the gift of miracles to him, he adds, " These things in this prelate I much approve and love, because I am persuaded these things were pleasing to God: But that he did not observe Easter at the proper time, either not knowing the canonical computation for it, or being overborn
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“ by the authority of his own church, from following that computation, if he knew it; the
“ I neither approve nor praise: Yet this much
“ I approve, that, in his celebration of Easter
“ he commemorated, revered, and preached
“ the same that we do, namely, the redemption of mankind by the passion, resurrection
“ and ascension of the one mediator between
“ God and man, the man Christ Jesus: And
“ therefore he kept his festival, not as some have
“ falsely thought, in imitation of the Jews, on the
“ fourteenth day of the moon, whatever day of
“ the week it fell on, but always on the Lord’s
“ day from the fourteenth to the twentieth day
L. ix. c. 17. “ of the moon, &c.” From this account of Bede
it would appear that the Scottish clergy were
falsely accused by their opponents of keeping up
the erroneous practice of the old Quartodecimans,
which had been condemned by the council of
Nice. For Bede clears them from that imputation,
and only laments their differing from the
Roman church, to which he himself was a zealous
adherer. How the old Britons and the Scots
too should have first fallen into this peculiar
practice, it is not easy to say, from whatever
quarter we shall derive their conversion. The
Asiatic practice, which, we are told, pleaded the
authority of St. John and his disciples, differed
widely from the British, more so indeed than the
British ever did from the Roman: So this can be
no proof of our conversion from that quarter.
On the other hand, how shall we account for this
difference on the supposition that we owe our
conversion to Rome? If, with Boece, we choose
to go as high up as Pope Victor for it, it is not
likely that a man so tenacious of his own rites
would

from the East, would have neglected such a fair opportunity of
 fixing them in the West, when he found he could not do it in the East. But you will say, the Scots
 might have forgot or departed from his instructions in the space of four hundred years that in-
 terveened between him and the period I am speaking of: And so indeed it might have hap-
 pened, if we had had no new communications with Rome all that time. But in this space we
 find a British Ninian converting the Southern Picts. Might not he have communicated to his
 converts the right knowledge of the Paschal so-
 lemnity, as Bede calls it, along with the other truths of the gospel; especially since, as Bede has
 told us, he had been "*Romæ regulariter fidem*
 & *mysteria veritatis edoctus*," regularly instruct-
 ed in the faith and mysteries of religion at Rome,
 so, we may conclude, in this among the rest, which
 Rome had so long laid such stress upon. We
 had a Palladius, a Roman Deacon, bred up at the
 feet of a Celestine, who was as keen in mainten-
 nance of his own opinions as Victor: What was
 this Palladius doing all the time it is said he was
 here, that he had not informed the believing Scots
 as to the proper and canonical time of celebrating
 the highest solemnity of their religion? If, with
 Archbishop Usher, we renounce Palladius, and send
 him into Ireland, it does not mend the matter:
 For neither he, nor the great St. Patrick who came
 after him, and had been taught at Rome too,
 made any greater impression upon, or had any
 better success with the Irish in this point, than
 the Scottish preachers had with the Scots. The
 churches of Ireland used the same computation that
 the churches of Britain used at the time of Augu-
 stine's mission, and continued to do so for some
 time.

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Bed. lib. iii.

cap. 3.

lib. v.

cap. 16.

time after, till first the southern Irish were brought in to the Roman practice by the admonitions of Pope Honorius, and next, but many years after, their northern brethren too, by the persuasion of the Scottish Abbot Adamnanus, who yet could not work upon his own clergy at Hy to lay aside their old customs. It is surprising therefore that Bede should have represented these northern Christians as wanting, by reason of their situation, the means of knowledge about the proper time of keeping Easter, when we are so sure of such famous teachers having been sent from Rome among them. So that still the difficulty remains, how to account for such a material difference in an affair which at that time both parties looked upon as of great importance, and for many years stuck very pertinaciously to their own practice with regard to it.

Now the only way, I think, to solve this difficulty, is by supposing that one of the parties had in process of time, changed their former system, and adopted a new calculation, as in their opinion more astronomical and exact. And that such a change had been made in fact, tho' not in Britain, yet by the Roman church, has been proved to a demonstration by Archbishop Usher, and other critics in these matters, who tell us, that when St. Patrick came to Ireland in the year 431, the Roman church made use of the old cycle of 84 years, which was called the *Roman account*, and was what the British Churches went by; but some time in the 6th century, and before Pope Gregory's time, the Church of Rome took up the Alexandrian cycle of 19 years, as explained by Dionysius Exiguus, and ever after directed their paschal computation by it. The churches in Britain and Ireland

Usher de
Prim. c. 16.
Coll. Hist.
Book ii.
p. 97.

had not heard of this alteration, and therefore adhered to their first supputation, which they had very probably been made acquainted with at their original conversion: And till Augustin came into Britain, we hear little or no notice of any jarring customs amongst them. But when once he got footing in Kent, and had erected magnificent churches under the patronage of secular encouragement, he soon began to display a little of even the then Romish lustre, and to discover something of the school he had been bred in. Gregory his employer, we acknowledge, was a good man: But he was a Pope, and found his see by some means or other possess'd of privileges and pre-eminences, which he either in conscience thought he could not, or notwithstanding all his humility would not part with. Accordingly he gave Augustin a jurisdiction over all the Bishops of Britain: And the missionary himself had inclination enough to improve the gift as far as he had time or opportunity. His behaviour to the seven British Bishops whom he invited to a conference, and whom he received sitting, discovered both his spirit and design, which he still manifested further in his proposals to them: For says he, "Tho' in many things you act contrary to our practice, yea to the practice of the universal church, yet if in these three things you be willing ("mihi obtemperare," to obey me,) to celebrate the paschal solemnity at a proper time, to administer baptism after the manner of the holy, Roman, and apostolic church, and to preach the word of God along with us to the English nation, all your other customs, however contrary to ours, I will quietly put up with." This is the first time we find any dif-

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Bed. lib. ii.
c. 2.

LETTER VII.  ference or dispute about Easter. But Augustin no doubt thought it necessary to have something to found his claim upon: And tho' in this demand he does not expressly mention the Pope's donation, yet these old Bishops, who had been in Britain before him, and had received their character, thro' a continued succession of a long tract of years, had 'as much sagacity as smell out his design, and courage enough not to yield to it. For they resolutely tell him, as Bede has expressed it, "That they would do none of the things, nor receive him for their Archbishop." Which, from the pen of his admirer Bede, plainly discovers, that "to be their Archbishop" was the main point he drove at. It is true he was disappointed, notwithstanding the extent of power given him by the Pope, and his own unwearied endeavours to improve it. His successor Laurentius kept the same object in view, and is the first who meddles with the Scots, tho' by the strain of his own letter, little to his satisfaction. For after paying them the compliment, that he and his companions had judged the Scots to be better-minded than the Britons; that 'is, they had hoped the Scots would be more tractable than the Britons were likely to be, he adds, "But now we perceive by the Bishop Dagamus, and by the Abbot Columbanus, that the Scots differ nothing in their observations from the Britons, for Bishop Dagamus coming to us refused not only to eat with us, but even to stay in the same house where we lodged." Here we see a complaint on the one hand, and a reason assigned for it on the other. But we may believe Bishop Dagamus had ground for his suspicions. He might have heard of Augustin's haugh-

Augustine to his British brethren before, and might readily suspect Laurentius to have had the same views. It could not be only the difference of rites, he might think, which these incomers were so very solicitous about: Something of more moment he feared might lie at the bottom, perhaps superiority or claim of pre-eminence which he and his church had not been acquainted with or accustomed to: So he thought it best to stand aloof, and rather be thought guilty of some degree of incivility than run the risk of an affront. We hear nothing more of this intercourse for more than twenty years, till Pope Honorius again took up the cause, and wrote to the Scottish nation, exhorting them "not to think their small handful in the utmost borders of the earth wiser than all the rest of mankind, and not to keep a paschal solemnity of their own, contrary to the calculations and synodical decrees of all the Bishops of the catholic church!" This letter, Bede tells us, had some effect upon the Scots, as he calls them, in the Southern parts of Ireland: But the rest of them still stood out: For, five or six years after this, we find a letter, as I before observed, addressed to five Scottish Bishops by "Hilarius Archpriest, and keeping the place of the holy apostolic see, John Deacon and in the name of God Elect, John Primicerius, and keeping the place of the holy apostolic see, and John servant of God and counsellor of the same see," in which they still find fault with their way of keeping Easter; and at the same time warn them against the poison of Pelagianism which they heard was breaking out amongst them again. But this last part of the charge seems to have been mere suspicion, and only

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Bed. l. ii.
cap. 19.

LETTER VII. only brought in to colour the principal design of wheedling them into submission. It is true

Boeth.
lib. ix.

Boeth. hist.
lib. v. in
reg. 52,

about this time, Boece tells us, that the Scottish King Ferchard was charged with Pelagianism and with ridiculing baptism, and auricular confession: And Buchanan to the same purpose says, "that among the crimes laid to Ferchard's charge was the Pelagian heresy, and his contempt of baptism and other sacred rites: Which when he could not clear himself of, he was thrown into prison, where he put an end to his own days." Perhaps Bede's account of the above letter from Rome may have given rise to this accusation against King Ferchard: And the Roman clergy would greedily lay hold of the least report this way, to be a handle to them to pursue the game which they had been in chase of in Britain ever since Augustin came into it.

However, they would have been as well employed in looking into their own matters at home. Their late Pope Honorius had been encouraging the seeds of the Monothelite doctrine, which made such a noise afterwards: And however much the Romanists may boast of the purity of their church, it is certain, that in the sixth General Council at Constantinople, Pope Honorius was condemned and anathematized: Which anathema his successor Leo II. confirms, with this further stigma upon him, "That instead of purifying this Apostolic Church by the doctrine of the Apostles, he had endeavoured to destroy the faith by a profane heresy;" and to the same purpose, in his letter to the Bishops of Spain, he says, "The sixth Council condemned Honorius, who, instead of extinguishing the flame of heresy in its birth, belonged to the apostolic authority, did encourage

A. D.
680.

"rage

rage it by his negligence." On all which ac-
 fations the Abbé Fleury has this remark; "So
 much care did the Pope take to shew, that that
 personal fault does no prejudice to the holy See."
 and might not the same be said of every other
 e? But this is what they always fly to, that
 whether their Popes can err or not, which they
 e not as yet agreed about, the holy see cannot be
 prejudiced; as if the orthodoxy of the see could
 e separated from the heterodoxy of the person
 ho fills it. It is upon this maxim of their own,
 at the Roman clergy began so early to take so
 uch upon them, and in their own names to dic-
 te and lay down rules to other churches: Tho',
 he should think, with no great colour of reason,
 en on admitting their own principles. For what-
 ver title their Bishop might have to the care and
 overment of the universal church, from his be-
 g the successor of St. Peter, it will not follow
 at his presbyters and deacons are invested with
 at title too, and have the supreme authority de-
 olved upon them in every vacancy of the chair:
 and the deacon John, notwithstanding his elec-
 on, might have waited the full completion of
 s powers, as heir to the prince of the Apostles,
 efore he had meddled with directing and cen-
 ring Bishops, who, except in what the see of
 ome has long been assuming, were never known
 o be thus treated by the inferior orders.
 But to return from this digression, which yet
 not quite incongruous to the business in hand,
 ter this letter from the Roman clergy and their
 ect Pope, the matter in agitation seems to have
 en dormant for some time, till in the year 664
 was wakened up again in the church of Lin-
 sfarne on the following occasion. The first
 Bishop

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 VII.

Hist. Eccl.
 liv. 40.
 § 31.

Bed. lib. iii.
 cap. 25.

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VII.

Bishop Aidan, who came from Hy to Lindisfarne, had brought the rites and usages of his church along with him, and continued to practise them without any molestation, and even with the love and veneration of his co-temporary Bishops who differed from him, particularly Honorius of Canterbury, and Felix of the East Angles. His successor Finan was not so lucky. For he had debates upon the contended point with one Romanus, a Scot by birth, but who had been bred in Italy, and brought over the Italian customs to Britain with him. However, Finan stood his ground also, being, by Bede's account of him, a stiff man, and one who had been much employed and very assistant in planting churches and settling Bishops in many other parts of the Saxon dominions. But in the time of Colman, who was sent from Hy upon Finan's death, a fresh attack was made by the Romish party, which gave the finishing stroke to the Scottish mission in that quarter. Prince Alfred, King Ofwi's eldest son, had for his preceptor a Priest Wilfrid, who had been educated at Rome, and on his return to his own country, full of the splendor and rites of the Romish church, got the young prince brought over to his way of thinking. At the joint instigation, the old King, who till now had neither desired nor known any other way than that in which he had been baptized and instructed among the Scots, was prevailed upon to call a synod for the discussion of this controversy, at the monastery of Strenechal, where Hilda, a lady of royal parentage, was Abbess, and had all along adhered to the Scottish usages. To this meeting came, on the Romish side, Agilbert, Bishop of the West-Saxons, with one of his Presbyters

to Lindisfarne, the Priest Wilfrid, Romanus who LETTER VII.
 had contended with Bishop Finan, and the old
 deacon James, whom Paulinus had left behind
 thirty years before. On the Scottish side
 were Colman and his clergy, and Cedda, one of
 the Bishops whom Finan had ordained, and who
 acted as interpreter to the meeting. Here King
 Oswi, after having prefaced that "they who all
 expect the same heavenly kingdom, should not
 differ in the celebration of the heavenly sacra-
 ments, but should inquire after the true tra-
 dition, and follow it," desired his own Bishop
 Colman to explain the nature and origin of the
 rites which he and his church had so long prac-
 tised. When Colman had finished what he had
 to say, the King desired Agilbert to do the same
 on his side of the question next: But Agilbert
 being a foreigner, and not expert enough in the
 Saxon language, begged that the Priest Wilfrid
 might be allowed to speak in his stead. It is
 needless to repeat the several proofs and autho-
 rities produced on both sides, of which Bede has
 given us a very full and distinct detail, but which
 upon examination, will not be found so solid or
 well grounded as their producers no doubt ima-
 gined. It is enough to say, that Colman alledged
 the example of St. John, and Wilfrid the autho-
 rity of St. Peter, with this farther advantage of re-
 ferring to Colman's allegation, that the Scottish form
 of keeping Easter always on a Sunday could not
 stand the example of St. John, who, in conde-
 mnation to the Eastern Jews, is said to have ob-
 served the fourteenth day of the moon, whether
 it fell on a Sunday or not. In conclusion, af-
 ter having complimented Colman's fathers, that if
 they had been taught the catholic computation,
 they

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VII.

they would have followed it as carefully, as they did the other commandments of God which they had learned, Wilfrid says to Colman, "But you and your adherents, if after having heard the decrees of the apostolic see, yea, of the whole church, and these too confirmed by scripture, you refuse to obey them, you certainly are guilty of sin. For allowing your father to have been holy men, is their small habitation in a corner of a remote island to be compared to the church of Christ over the whole earth? And great as that Columba of yours may have been, is he to be preferred to the blessed prince of the Apostles, to whom the Lord said, Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it; and, To thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven." They determined the point: For now the King, after having asked Colman whether he acknowledged that all this was said to St. Peter, and if the like was ever said to Columba, to which he could not but know what answers the honest man would give, ("ita conclusit," says Bede,) decided thus: "And I say unto you, that as this is the porter, I will not contradict him, but in as far as he know and am able, will in all things obey his statutes, lest when I call at heaven's gate, there be none to open to me, if the porter be my enemy." On this secular decision of the difference, Colman with most of his clergy returned to Hy, whence he had been sent three years before, and where, according to Buchanan, we find him four years after this, like a good Bishop prohibiting the nobles from punishing, as he called it, K. Ferchard II. for his crimes, and even com-

Buch. Hist.
Lib. v. in
R. 54.

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starting that unhappy man on his repentance in **LETTER**
last moments. At this meeting too the affair **VII.**
the tonsure, or form of shaving the crown of
the head, was debated, the Romanists having
the fashion of it, which, like all their other pe-
uliarities, they pretended to have learned from
St. Peter, and the Scottish churches another fa-
shion, which, because different from theirs, the
Romanists gave out, had been used by Simon Ma-
gus. These may be said, and justly too, to
have been but very trivial and insignificant mat-
ters: But we see what stress was laid upon them:
and we cannot think that the church of Rome
would have been so often and strenuously labour-
ing to enforce a conformity in these points, if it
had not been with a view to make such confor-
mity a leading step to the introduction of their
projected supremacy.

I am, yours, &c.

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VIII.

L E T T E R VIII.

*Instances of Arrogance in the Church of Rome—
the Pictish and Scottish Churches at last comply
with the Romish Customs—and for some Time
sink into Obscurity.*

Bed. lib. iv.
cap. 2.

FOR some time after the expulsion of the Scottish Bishops from Lindisfarne, and substitution of Wilfrid, and the Romish party in the room, we find the Scottish clergy often looked down upon with a contemptuous and malignant eye. In the year 668, there was one Theodorus a Greek by birth, sent over from Rome to the see of Canterbury, who being a man of spirit, as well as of considerable learning, was at great pains to enforce obedience to the see of Rome, and according to Bede, was the first Archbishop, to whom all the English church submitted. He held several councils; abrogated, or confirmed the ordinations of Bishops, and towards the end of his life, composed a Penitential, or collection of canons for the regulation of penance, which, Fleury says, was the first of that kind that the Latin church had. In one of the capitula of this piece it is appointed, "that the Scottish and British Bishops

who dissented from the catholic church in the
tonsure, and keeping of Easter, were to have
their character confirmed by receiving im-
position of hands from a catholic Bishop." From

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VIII.

From this it appears that the Scots still kept to their
old form, notwithstanding of Wilfrid's argu-
ments, and K. Ofwi's change of opinion: And

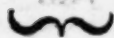
Labbe's
Councils,
tom 6.

while it discovers the Roman pride and arro-
gance, it is so far lucky for the Scots, that they
were thus classed with the Britons, who, we are
sure, from their first conversion had regular
Bishops among them: Which is another strong
presumption in favour of my original supposition,
that the Scots had received their first knowledge
of christianity from the Britons, by their thus
adhering to the British rites, and being, in con-
junction with them, exposed to the overbear-
ing vanity of the Romish church.

It was about this time that Adamnanus, Abbot
of Hy, whom Bede calls a good and wise man,
and one who was well instructed in the know-
ledge of the scriptures, having been sent on an
ambassy to the Northumbrian court, and seen the
new rites which had been lately introduced in-
to that church, was so well pleased with them,
that on his return home, he endeavoured all he
could to introduce them likewise among the cler-
gy of the obedience of Hy. But in this it seems

Bed. lib. v;
cap. 16.

He he could not succeed: So tenacious as yet was
the Scottish church of their old, and as they
thought, primitive usages, and so scrupulously
afraid of any innovation, however inconsiderable
in itself, which might tend to the infringement
of their ancient independence, that neither the
persuasions nor commands of one of their supe-
riors,

LETTER
VIII.Ibid.
cap. 22.

riors, and him a worthy man too, could prevail with them.

However they began by degrees to bend a little from their former stiffness, and the repeated solicitations which they met with at last carried the point. In the year 710, Ceolfrid Abbot of Wearmouth, where Bede was Monk, wrote a long letter in defence of the Roman tonsure and Easter to Naitan King of the Picts. In which, among the many other arguments and illustrations of the subject which the good Abbot advances, he offers the following symbolical explication of the paschal solemnity, which is by no means a contemptible one. "We are commanded to keep
" the pasch in the first month of the year, to shew
" us that the spirit of our minds ought to be
" renewed to the love of heavenly things, in order to our duly celebrating the mysteries of the
" Lord's resurrection and of our deliverance: We
" are commanded to keep it in the third week,
" to testify that the Christ who was promised before the law and under the law, did in the
" third age of the world graciously come to be
" the passover sacrificed for us, and that by his
" rising from the dead on the third day after the
" sacrifice of his passion, he designed this day to
" be henceforth called the Lord's Day, and his
" resurrection to be yearly commemorated upon
" it. And we then do truly celebrate this paschal solemnity, when thro' faith, hope and charity, these three, we study to make our pasch,
" i. e. our passage out of this world with our
" Christ to the Father. We are commanded to
" wait for the first full moon after the equinox,
" when the sun is beginning to make the day
" longer than the night, and the moon ready to
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present her fully enlightened orb to the earth, because the sun of righteousness, in whose wings is healing, the Lord Jesus, did first by the triumph of his resurrection dispel the darkness of death, and then ascending into heaven, did fill his church, the moon, with the light of internal grace by the gift of his holy spirit. Whoever therefore will contend that the full moon of the paschal season can be before the equinox, such a person dissents in the celebration of the highest mysteries from the doctrine of the scriptures, but agrees with them who trust they can be saved without the preventing grace of Christ, and who are not ashamed to teach that, tho' the true light had not by his death and resurrection overcome the darkness of the world, mankind might have attained to perfect righteousness." In recommending the Roman form of the clerical tonsure, he acknowledges to the King, "that the Apostles were not all shaven after one and the same way, neither has the catholic church, tho' agreeing in one faith, one hope and one charity, ever adopted one uniform tonsure: And to own the truth, this difference of shaving cannot hurt those who have a pure faith in God, and a sincere love to their neighbour, especially since we do not read of any controversy in the church upon this score, as there was about the catholic faith and the keeping of Easter." Yet he goes on to press the use of the then Roman fashion from the common topic of St. Peter's example, which is the great confirmation, tho' a very uncertain one, of most of the Romish rites to this day: And he concludes thus, "Wherefore, sir, I admonish your prudence, that you should in all points
" strive

LETTER "strive to observe these things in the unity
 VIII. "the catholic and apostolic church, along with
 "the nation over whom the King of Kings and
 "Lord of Lords has placed you: That is, af-
 "ter having finished the time of your earthly
 "power, the blessed prince of the Apostles him-
 "self may willingly open to you and yours, with
 "all the rest of the elect, the gates of the king-
 "dom of heaven." This letter had the desired
 effect. The same argument, it seems, that had
 converted King Oswi, had the like weight with
 King Naitan. For now, says my author, the King
 sent proper persons thro' all the provinces of the
 Picts to transcribe, learn, and teach the cycle of
 nineteen years, laying aside every where the old
 erroneous one of eighty four. The Monks too and
 Ministers of the altar had their heads shaved in
 the new form: "And thus the nation being cor-
 "rected, submitted themselves as it were to a
 "new discipline, under the blessed prince of the
 "Apostles, and heartily rejoiced in his patron-
 "age."

Here then was one part of what is now
 Scotland, and at that time no inconsiderable part
 of it, gained over to a new obedience, as Bede
 calls it. The other part was brought over not so
 long after. For in the year 716, the Scots who
 belonged to the monastery of Hy, and had till
 now maintained their ground against different at-
 tacks from different quarters, were at last pre-
 vailed on by the Saxon priest Egbert, to come in
 to the current practice, and join with the rest of
 the world, as they were made to believe, in one
 uniform observance of sacred things. This Eg-
 bert had, about twenty years before this, formed
 a resolution to go over to the continent of Ger-

many,

many, to preach the gospel to some of the hea-
 then nations there, but was prevented by a re-
 velation from heaven, which told him "that he
 behoved to go to the monasteries of Columba's
 foundation, and bring them into the right way,
 quia aratra eorum non recte incedunt, because
 their ploughs do not go right." Accordingly
 he now came out of Ireland, where he had long
 sojourned, into Hy, of which place Dunchadus
 at that time was Abbot: And there, says Bede,
 he taught them to celebrate the high paschal fes-
 tival after the catholic and apostolic manner, and
 under the proper figure of the coronal tonsure:
 "Which certainly was brought about by a won-
 derful dispensation of the divine goodness, that
 because the Scots, who had the knowledge of
 the divine truth, had willingly and without
 grudging communicated it to the English peo-
 ple, they themselves should by the means of
 that English people, be afterwards brought to
 a more perfect rule of life in some things in
 which they were deficient: Whereas the Bri-
 tons, who would not impart what knowledge
 they had of the christian faith to the Angles,
 now when these Angles were believers, and en-
 tirely conformable to the catholic rule, remain-
 ed in an inveterate aberration from the right
 paths, and pretended to keep the christian so-
 lemnities without the society of the christian
 church. This man of God Egbert lived after
 this thirteen years in the island of Hy, which
 he consecrated to Christ by enlightening it with
 certain new blessings, and with the grace of ec-
 clestiaistical unity and peace."

So now we see the complete change wrought;
 both Picts and Scots united in usage and obedi-

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Bede. l. v.
cap. 10.

Ib. cap. 23.

LETTER VIII.  ence, with the Saxon church, and laying aside the traditions they had received from their original converters, from Palladius, Ninian, Columba, &c. to embrace a set of forms and fashions from Rome under profession indeed of catholic unity, but with a view, which perhaps they did not suspect at first, to lead them by degrees into an absolute subjection. In consequence of this revolution in the affairs of our old church, we find in five years after this, a Pictish Bishop Fergusus, and a Scottish one Sedulius, attending a synod at Rome under Pope Gregory II. probably to testify their lately embraced communion, and according to the current of devotion at that time, to visit "limina Apostolorum" the thresholds of the Apostles, especially of the prince of the Apostles, from whom they were taught to expect such mighty favours, and whom therefore it would be so dangerous to disoblige.

I have been the more tedious in my account of this so much agitated controversy between our predecessors and the Romish party, on purpose to silence, if possible, that foolish clamour raised by a certain class of writers, that Palladius brought in Popery. They know little certain about Palladius, farther than that he was sent the first Bishop to the believing Scots, and all the strong things that have been said for or against him, are but empty declamations without authority, and consequently below credit. To say therefore that he brought in Popery, is a mere rant of prejudice and effrontery: They might as well say he brought in Mahometanism. Or if it can be supposed that he was the planter of Popery among us, it appears to have been but very weakly rooted under his hand, as it took such a long tract of time

time to make any great figure. Between the mission of Palladius and the above related conversion by Egbert, were near three hundred years. Was our church popish all this time, when it is certain they knew little of the Pope as such, and, in what they did know of him, or were ordered by him, continued to dissent from him in sundry points which he thought of no small consequence? Was Bishop Dagamus popish, when he would not so much as lodge in the same house with the popish missionary Laurentius? Was Bishop Colman popish, who gave up his charge, and a charge too which he had executed for some years with great applause, rather than comply with a few practices brought from Rome, and recommended by the example, and under the authority of St. Peter? They certainly know little what popery is, who would suspect such people of it. The great Cardinal Baronius, who beyond all question was a good judge in this matter, seems to have been of a different opinion: For he charges both the Scots and Britons with the guilt of schism, for departing from the church of Rome in these particulars. It is very hard therefore that these old Bishops of our church should be accused of popery by the adversaries of Episcopacy, and at the same time branded with schism by a popish Cardinal. However, as Baronius will not allow them to have been papists, that is to say, in subjection to the Pope, and thereby clears them from the presbyterian imputation, so the great character which the popish Bede, a co-temporary and consequently a creditable writer, bestows on them, invalidates the Cardinal's charge against them, and discovers to us this fundamental truth, that in those days the Pope or Bishop of Rome was

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Baron.
Ann. ad
ann. 604.
sect. 78.

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not universally looked upon as the necessary centre of communion, but every national church was an organized body within itself, under the government of its own Bishops, and independent of any foreign jurisdiction whatever. If it shall still be urged, as has often been done by certain writers, that Episcopacy itself, or any degree of superiority among the Ministers of Christ's church is what they mean by Popery, they would do well to remember, that this is not only a begging of the question, which is never allowed in disputation, but is likewise paying Popery a higher compliment than they would wish, by making it coeval with Episcopacy: Since it is certain that Bishops, as superior to Presbyters, whether they be an encroachment or not, were in the church at too early a period for supposing her corrupted to such a deep degree as the present idea of Popery implies.

I acknowledge indeed, that Egbert's success with the Scottish clergy, in bringing them over to a conformity to the Roman usages, did open a door for introducing their dependence upon and subjection to the Roman See. And if that be what is properly called Popery, as it certainly is, and nothing less deserves that title, I would here ask a natural question, which appears on the face of this piece of History, as related by Bede. By what instruments this change was effectuated, and Popery brought in? We have heard of some time when it was made an argument in favour of the Presbyterian model of Church government, and an argument too not confined to private debate, but formally and publicly presented to the *Wisdom of the Nation*, "That this church was reformed from Popery by Presbyters." It is not before

before me as yet to enter into the merits of this LETTER
VIII.
 cause, nor to try the truth or force of this alle-
 gation. I only wish that those who trust to it,
 should look back to the era of our ecclesiastic
 history. I am now considering, and they will see
 that, if Popery was thrust out by Presbyters, it
 was brought in by Presbyters at first. It was a
 Presbyter Wilfrid, and a turbulent one too, who
 first introduced it, in opposition to Bishop Col-
 man, at Lindisfarne: It was a Presbyter Ceolfrid,
 who wheedled the Pictish church into it: It was a
 Presbyter Egbert, who wrought the Reformation,
 as Bede calls it, among the Scottish clergy at Hy.
 These men had been educated abroad, had im-
 bibed foreign principles, and had Presbyterian
 zeal enough to spread these principles as far as
 they could at home, not only without the con-
 currence of, but even in direct contradiction to the
 respective Bishops. I do not, for my own part,
 lay much stress upon this parallel, however simi-
 lar it may appear in fundry other particulars: I
 only point it out, to let people see, how fallacious
 a foundation precedents are, to build upon, when
 they are not warranted by proper authority or
 primitive institution.

From this period, so very remarkable in our
 Church-history, we have not much distinct intelli-
 gence for some years, concerning the Scottish cler-
 gy. Their dissenting from, and opposition to the
 Roman usages had made them conspicuous for
 some time; as long as the church of Rome
 thought it worth her while to take notice of
 them, on account of the ends she had in view to
 be gained upon them. But when that end was
 once gained, it seems they had lost their impor-
 tance, and sunk by degrees, along with many
 other churches, into that shade of obscurity and

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LETTER VIII. insignificance, which the grandeur of their mother and mistress church threw over them. Yet, from what little knowledge we have got of these subsequent times, it would appear that the Scots, notwithstanding their concessions and submission to the church of Rome, still retained something of the old Anti-papal leaven, and upon that account were many times not well looked upon by the flatterers of the Roman power. For about the year 747, we find a Scotsman Clement contending with, and harrassed by, the Papal missionary Boniface, Archbishop of Mentz. Archbishop Spotswood mentions one Samson, as engaged in the same cause, and finding fault with Boniface for making it his business to win people to the obedience of the Pope, more than to the obedience of Christ, and endeavouring to establish absolute sovereignty in the Pope's person over the rest of the christian church. For this so capital error, in conjunction with some other fictitious articles, thrown in to make up the sum total of guilt, Clemens was condemned both at Mentz and Rome, tho' what became of him afterward, or how the affair ended, we know not. A long time after this, we meet with another instance of disrespect thrown upon the Scots in general by their neighbour church, the now completely Popish church of England, and an instance to which some people would be improving into an argument that the Scots even then had no Bishops among them. In the year 816, a synod was held at Calcuith in England, the fifth canon of which ordains, "that no Scottishman shall be allowed to baptize, read divine service, administer the eucharist, or perform any part of the sacerdotal office, because it is uncertain whether or by whom they are ordained." This is in

Fleur. hist.
Ecclef. ad
747.
Ch. Hist.
b. i. p. 20.

Coll. Hist.
Book ii.
p. 149.

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ed an ill-looking insinuation; yet it can be easi-
 accounted for. It does not express any belief in
 the English synod, that the Scots had no bishops,
 and therefore performed their ordinations by pre-
 byters, which, if such had been the case, would
 have been peremptorily assigned as the reason.
 The only design of it had been to prevent im-
 pures, by keeping up to the ancient form of cre-
 dential letters; tho' it might also have proceeded
 from some resentment in Wilfrid, then Archbishop
 of Canterbury, and president of the synod, who,
 like all his Romish predecessors, would have had
 the Scottish bishops to receive consecration from
 him, as their metropolitan, and therefore on
 their refusal did by this canon inhibit them from
 performing any acts of the sacerdotal office with-
 out his precincts. In any shape this unneighbour-
 ly procedure of the English church is no more
 proof of the want of Bishops among the Scots,
 than such a canon, past in a synod of the Galli-
 can Bishops against the present English clergy,
 would be, that the French believed the church
 of England admitted ordination by Presbyters
 without Bishops.

I am, &c.

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IX.

L E T T E R IX.

*View of Church Affairs abroad—Account of
general Councils—The Worship of Images
published in the Romish Church—opposed
Charlemagne—Liberality of that Prince to
See of Rome—Foundation of the Papal Gre-
gour—Observations on the Characters of
primitive Bishops.*

IN the preceding letter, we have seen the Scottish church bending a little from her former stiffness, and for the sake of peace and unity conforming to the Romanists in some lesser matters. But it does not appear that our clergy were yet so thoroughpaced in their obedience, or completely popish as the partizans of Rome would have had them. We are now approaching to the most remarkable epoch in the public manner both of our church and state; I mean the union of the two hitherto separate monarchies, the Pictish and the Scottish, in the person of the Scottish King, Kenneth Macalpin. After this important and desirable junction, which took place about the middle of the ninth century, our affairs

ecclesiastical, as well as civil, begin to put on a different appearance from any thing we have yet seen. And therefore, before I enter on the consideration of this new scene, I shall lay before you a few observations on what we have already surveyed, which if not necessarily connected with, may yet serve to illustrate my main design, and throw a little more light on those dark ages we have been contemplating.

It will be proper therefore, that we now step a little out of our own confined island, and take a view of the state of church-affairs abroad, to see if we can discover any agreement or disagreement between our Christian ancestors; whether Scots or Picts, and the other branches of the Catholic Church in different parts of the world.

In order to this, I need not go so far back as to the earliest ages of primitive purity: For these happy days were over, before our progenitors here were much heard of. Nay, the two first general councils, (that of Nice against the impugnors of Christ's deity, and that of Constantinople against the enemies of the Holy Ghost) were both held, before we have any documents of our conversion, that can be relied on. The famous passage of Cosper is the first notice we have from any ancient or creditable writer, of the Scots being believers: And this author was co-temporary with the third general council which was held at Ephesus in the year 431, against the Patriarch of Constantinople, Nestorius, who maintained the foolish and unintelligible notion of "*Two persons*" in Christ: A notion indeed which, after the noise that was made about it, and notwithstanding of the many followers which its author had in the East, who are called Nestorians, this day, seems upon a thorough examination,

LETTER to have had more of nonsense than malice in
 X. However, as unguarded zeal oft leads people be-
 yond the mark, so here a fierce opposition to this
 whimsical conceit soon produced another and
 more dangerous error. For in the year 451,
 a general council was assembled at Chalcedon
 against the Abbot Eutyches, who had been one
 of the bitterest prosecutors of Nestorius, and in
 order to combat his doctrine of the two per-
 sonalities, had taught, that, as there is but *one per-*
son in Christ, so there is but *one nature* too. The
 contention was warmly carried on by both parties
 and raised more dissention and animosity in the
 Eastern church, almost down to the present time
 than any other difference of opinion that had ever
 been in it. But we do not find that this flame
 had reached, or at least spread itself much in our
 island. The only infection of bad doctrine with
 which the churches here appear to have been
 charged, was an attachment to the tenets of our
 countryman Pelagius, who made a noise about the
 beginning of the fifth century, and was accused of
 magnifying the powers of man's will, and dimi-
 nishing the necessity of God's grace. Yet we have
 no certain accounts of the sentiments of the British
 churches on that subject, farther than that two
 Bishops, Germanus and Lupus, came over from
 France to preach against it. Our own historians
 indeed tell us, that Palladius was sent to combat
 this heresy, which had begun to infect the Scottish
 church. But for this they have produced no com-
 petent authority. Prosper says no such thing, in
 any place where he speaks of Palladius: He only
 mentions in his Chronicle, that "at the instance
 " of the Deacon Palladius, Pope Celestine sent
 " Germanus into Britain, to confute the Pelagian
 " and

ans." But no antient writer has the least hint LETTER
 that Palladius found Pelagianism among the Scots: IX.
 it is only inferred from some distant accusations
 which we find in the above quoted letters from the
 popes, and which, if we consider all the circum-
 stances and principal design of the writers, ought
 not to be admitted as a sufficient proof against
 them. But to go on: In the year 553, the fifth
 general council was called at Constantinople, about
 the condemnation of three old Bishops; who had
 been dead many years before, and who till then
 had been well thought of in the church, Theodo-
 rus of Mopsuesta, Theodoret of Cyrus, a celebrat-
 ed church-historian, and Ibas of Edeffa. This
 frivolous affair, in which the then Pope Vigilius
 so frequently and grossly prevaricated, got the
 name of the "*Three Chapters*," and created much
 schism and contention in the West for a long
 time, but does not seem to have been much heard
 of in Britain. Only we are told that the Abbot
 Columbanus, who is believed to have been a
 Scotchman, but was at that time residing in Italy,
 wrote a letter in the year 607 to Pope Boniface IV.
 about it, in which he openly calls Vigilius an he-
 retic for his scandalous behaviour in it. The
 next general council was also at Constantinople
 in the year 680, against the Monothelites, who
 were a slip from the Eutychian root, and main-
 tained that, in consequence of the *One Nature*,
 our Saviour had but *One Will* and one operation:
 But neither does it appear that the churches in
 Britain had much knowledge of, or concern in
 this controversy, which, tho' at its first appear-
 ing, it was favoured by Pope Honorius, seems to
 have been for the most part confined to the East
 in its consequences, which were violent enough

Dr Mack-
enz. Lives,
vol. i.

LETTER for the time that it lasted, and had been fatal
 IX. a Pope Martin, who was banished by the Emperor
 or in the year 655 for his opposing the Monothelites, and died in exile.

At this time the Eastern church was in a state of great desolation. The grand impostor Mahomet had started up about the year 620, and in less than sixty years his followers had subdued Arabia, Chaldea, Syria, Palestine, Phenicia, and Egypt, so that the christians in these countries were in a miserable condition, and the outward peace of the church entirely destroyed. This foundation of the Mahometans by degrees brought on that ignorance and neglect of study which has so sadly overwhelmed the Eastern church even to this day. Indeed the effects of it soon began to appear upon many occasions, particularly at the next general council, according to the Popish reckoning, which was held where the first had been, at Nice, in the year 787, and is by the church of Rome called the second council of Nice. Here it was that the foolish and dangerous fancy of worshipping images got the first sanction from any sort of authority, entirely owing to the most impartial of the Popish writers themselves confess, to the incapacity which these fathers laboured under, of distinguishing genuine writings from fabulous legends, and to their want of attention to some of the most substantial arguments proposed by their opponents. At the same time it is universally agreed, that the images then used in some churches, and consequently recommended by this council, were but flat paintings or pictures, not, as is the practice now, solid pieces of statuary work, which by degrees came afterwards to be used. However this decision, such as it was

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IX.

who' pushed in the East with great rigour, and confirmed by Pope Adrian, who was a zealous stickler for it, met with long and learned contradiction in the West. By the direction of the then King of France, Charlemagne, who was afterwards Emperor, an elaborate confutation of it was written in the year 789, known by the name of the Caroline Books: And not satisfied with this, about five years after, the same monarch convened a numerous assembly of the Bishops of Germany, France, and Spain, in order to condemn it, and sent over their sentence to the British Bishops for their approbation, which, the English historians tell us, they very fully and cordially gave. This activity of Charlemagne, in so strenuously opposing a papal decree in a religious point, at the same time that he was befriending and supporting the Popes so much in temporal matters, has thrown the Popish writers into a great strait how to reconcile two such jarring pieces of behaviour, and save the Emperor's credit, which, had it not been for his usefulness to them in other respects, they would not have been at so much pains to support. Their great defence is, that he and his Bishops mistook the Eastern council's meaning, and imagined that the fathers at Nice had enjoined the highest degree of worship, which the modern Papists call *Latria*, to be paid to images. But granting this to have been the case, tho' very improbable, it shews at least either the incapacity or inaccuracy of these Nicene image-worshippers, in not drawing up their synodical decree, which they proposed to be binding on the whole church, in such plain and intelligible terms as to be liable to no mistake, especially in such a material point of difference as they are pleased to assign between the

Collier.
Eccl. Hist.
b. 2. p. 139.

LETTER the several degrees of religious worship. It was
 IX. this Charlemagne who, it is said, made that famous
 ~~~~~ league with our Scottish King Achard, which so long subsisted between the two nations. Whatever be in this, it is certain there was at that time a great friendship between them: And as Charles appears to have had this image-affinity deeply at heart, we may suppose he would write to the Scots as well as to the British about it. It may also be supposed that the Scots would adopt his sentiments, especially when coinciding with the sentiments of their neighbouring Bishops, concerning it. To strengthen which supposition, let it be observed further, that at this time our nation produced two very conspicuous men, who were graciously received by this monarch, and very useful to him, an Albinus, (not the great Alcuin, Charles's preceptor, who was an Englishman) and a Clemens. The first of these wrote the Caroline books, and founded the university of Pavia, and the other taught the first public school in Paris: From which we learn that our church was now beginning to emerge out of obscurity, and to appear in other parts of the world with that esteem and respect by which her learned men were so deservedly distinguished, even in the subsequent ages of ignorance and corruption.

Dr. M<sup>r</sup>ken.  
 Lives, v. 1.

Here too I cannot but present to your notice an obvious reflection on the difference between the conversions in the early times, and those that were afterwards effected by the interposition of secular power. The first were slow and sure: The others more rapid, but less durable. Of this the history of Charlemagne, compared with the annals of primitive antiquity, affords a striking demonstration. The compulsion which he put

p. It was the Saxons by the force of his arms, and the error of his victories, drove vast numbers of them to a temporary profession of the Christian faith, under the incompatible alternative of being either baptized or butchered. And what was the consequence? The poor creatures, as soon as his sword was out of their sight, ran back to their old idols: and the enraged conqueror had no help but come upon them again, and punish their apostacy, as he called it, with bloodshed and devastation. But was this the proper or primitive way of planting the religion of Jesus? No certainly: the gospel was first spread, and churches were long and successfully planted, not *by* force, but *against* it. The great Author of our faith sought no exterior assistance of this kind: his own divine influence, and the intrinsic merits of his cause, were sufficient for the work; and thro' these it prospered amazingly. The preachers of the gospel then, with great patience, and under terrible hardships, made offer of the doctrines of salvation to the heathen nations. The people heard the glad tidings, and were by degrees convinced of the truth and importance of them: And this rational conviction, strengthened and sanctified by celestial grace, left such impressions on the minds of mankind, as were solid and lasting. Such was the original method of publishing the religion of Christ: a method chosen by All-seeing Wisdom, supported by Almighty Power, and, which is an argument of no little weight with some people, approved by most extensive and incomparable success. It was not till the zeal of Christians began to cool; till their dependence on the great Captain of their salvation seemed to be shaken, that he permitted the power of the earth to interfere, and left his church

LETTER:  
IX.

to



LETTER to the arm of flesh, when he saw her beginning

IX. weary of him and his arm. I say, permitted: For

I can never be brought to think, that he actually designed or ordered it. The nature of his institutions, and the plan upon which he founded his church, do not lead to such a thought. And the consequences of the change wrought by the Emperor Constantine, however agreeable to flesh and blood, are not such as would have made the primitive martyrs fond of it. I know this is an unpopular topic, and not suited to the general taste of the times. The great Constantine, the first Christian Emperor, as he is triumphantly called, is almost an idol of veneration; and neither my subject nor my inclination lead me to derogate from that respect which is justly due to his memory.

But whatever esteem I may have for Constantine, either from private opinion, or in compliance with prevailing custom, I cannot go the same lengths with the hero of my present consideration the first German Emperor Charlemagne. The Romanists, I know, make much of him, and I do not wonder at it. He was the first founder of the temporal grandeur. The old donation of Constantine to Pope Sylvester, which they once built so much upon, and which was in credit with them as far down as the days of our Fordun, who gave a copy of it at full length, has long since been discovered to be an arrant forgery, and is now treated by the most of themselves as a ridiculous fable. They have what they think a better plea in support of their right to the possession of the temporalities and privileges which they have now so long enjoyed. For the donations made by Pepin and his son Charlemagne are incontestible, and

Scotichron.  
lib. ii. c.  
48.

doubt gave to the see of Rome as much right LETTER  
 those possessions as these princes could give. IX.  
 is none of my business to inquire what right  
 they had, or how they came by it. I can only  
 say, what is well known, that the donations I  
 have mentioned put the Bishops of Rome upon  
 such a footing, as made them able to act in the  
 high stile they afterwards assumed. For, tho'  
 Charles, as we have seen, contended a good deal  
 about the worship of images with Pope Adrian,  
 he carried himself very modestly and softly to-  
 wards the Emperor in this affair, yet the tempo-  
 ral power now put into the Pope's hands enabled  
 his successors in time coming to enforce any doc-  
 trine or decree which they might think proper  
 to adopt or publish. Nay, the very right of con-  
 firming the election of the Pope, which Charles  
 had reserved to himself, and Adrian had solemnly  
 yielded to him, as an equivalent, and but a reason-  
 able and customary one, for the lands thus given  
 away, was soon contended by the succeeding  
 Popes, and became in process of time the great-  
 est source of uneasiness to the Emperors, till in  
 the end it was entirely and for ever wrested out  
 of their hands.

Hitherto the Popes had been struggling, some-  
 times patiently, sometimes with reluctance, under  
 the yoke of temporal subjection, not only to hea-  
 ren, but even to Christian Emperors, and were  
 involved in the same lot of distress or oppression  
 with the secular powers with other Bishops. As  
 far down as the end of the sixth century, we find  
 the first Gregory, one of the greatest and best that  
 ever filled the Papal chair from Constantine's time  
 to this day, acknowledging this subjection, and  
 in his letters, as other subjects then did, by

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the

LETTER the years of the reign of his Lord and Master

IX. Emperor Mauritus. This practice was kept

for some time after, notwithstanding the title

Universal Bishop, which it is said a Boniface, who

came after Gregory, got from the bloody tyrant

Phocas, as we see in a letter from Pope Honorius

to Honorius of Canterbury. But about the beginning

of the eighth century, when the Imperial power

was declining in Italy, by the frequent

ruptions of the Lombards, and other barbarous

nations, and a contest had arisen between the

Popes and the then Emperor Leo Isaurus, about

images, the Pope Gregory the second, but unlike

the first, took the advantage of the Emperor's

weakness, and by his persuasions and influence

withdrew the greater part of Italy from their allegiance.

His immediate successors went on in the same

strain, and finding the Kings of France of the

Merovingian race, a continued succession of

some time of indolent, inactive men, they chimed

in so far with the ambition of the first minister

of state, Charles Martel and his son Pepin, that

at last the Pope formally deposed King Childeric

and set up Pepin in his room: For which good

turn, Pepin first, and then his son Charlemagne

could do no less than make war upon the Lombards

at the Pope's desire, tho' these people were

at that time Christians, and give to St Peter, as

the Popes termed it, the lands which their victorious

arms had torn from the Lombard princes.

This is such a stretch, without warrant and against

precedent, of papal privilege, that the more moderate

of that party in modern times are beginning

to be ashamed of it. For tho' three good

Cardinals, Baronius, Bellarmine, and Perron have

upon the faith of the old historians, admitted

the practice, yet they are all of opinion that it is

unlawful, and that it is a usurpation of the

Natural Rights of Kings, and that it is a

usurpation of the Rights of the People.

But the Popes, who are the only ones who

claim the Right of Deposing Kings, and of

setting up new ones, are the only ones who

claim the Right of Deposing Kings, and of

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claim the Right of Deposing Kings, and of

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claim the Right of Deposing Kings, and of

setting up new ones, are the only ones who

st, and done what they could to justify the  
 awfulness of it from the principles of their church,  
 at a late writer in Lewis the Fourteenth's time,  
 Natalis Alexander, Professor of Theology in the  
 University of Paris, thinks proper to deny both  
 the Pope's withdrawing Italy from the Emperor's  
 obedience, and changing the regal succession in  
 France, from this main argument, which he lays  
 down as conclusive against the three Cardinals,  
 that the Popes then were too good men to be  
 guilty of such actions. This dissertation of Fa-  
 ther Alexander's came out at a time when there  
 was hot work between the King and the Pope  
 about their several powers and prerogatives, and  
 was designed as a distant sort of vindication of the  
 Gallican liberties both in church and state. But  
 however favourable the attempt certainly was to  
 the personal character of the Popes, yet as it was  
 prejudicial to their pretensions, it was condemned  
 by a decree of Pope Innocent XI. in the year  
 1684, and a prohibition issued against reading or  
 having any of the works of Father Alexander, un-  
 der pain of excommunication ipso facto. Which  
 mainly discovers the rigid principles of that church,  
 as a public society, however moderate the senti-  
 ments of some of its private writers may appear.  
 It is certain, that from the time of Charlemagne,  
 and on the strength of his generosity to them, we  
 find the Popes talking in a louder and more ma-  
 gisterial strain than they had used before, not to  
 bishops only, but even to crowned heads. Hi-  
 therto we have seen but little of their lordly lan-  
 guage: They would hardly think of exercising  
 much of it, on so poor an object as the Scottish  
 Church. As far back as Celestine's time, they  
 might have heard, from the Roman troops that  
 had

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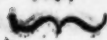
Hist Eccl.  
 Sac. VIII  
 Diss. 1, 2.

Dupin Bib.  
 Eccl. t. 19.



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IX.



had been in Britain, some vague reports of fierce, untrained people called Scots, and that there were believers among them. Their zeal no doubt might incline them to take an active part in spreading the faith further among such a people, even tho' they could expect no temporal emolument from them. For at that early period our Church had, and could have, but few temporal emoluments in her possession. The mighty things which our historians, one after another, Boece, Buchanan, Spotswood, &c. speak of the liberality of our Kings to the Church and churchmen, in assigning lands and heritages to them, in these early times, found indeed very well, but unfortunately have not the smallest shadow of proof to support them: And the pomp and luxury which some of these writers inveigh so bitterly against, seem to have been altogether unknown in the days before Palladius. Any notion we can form of these times by collecting and comparing what broken information we have concerning them, seems to compare most of any thing we meet with, to the description of the primitive ages. Our ancestors had in all probability been converted after the primitive manner, without formal missions, or secular assistances. The coming of Palladius found them believers, which they could not have been without instruction from some quarter or other. But that instruction they might have had from the Britons in their neighbourhood, or even from among their Roman enemies, without either a Pope to rule them, or a Charlemagne to compel them. One thing is deducible in reason, from a certain degree of information, that as their conversion, from whatever time we date it, was coeval with the universal use of Bishops over all the Christian church

is presumable that they had Bishops too, which, LETTER  
 at the time of their appearance on the stage of hi- IX.  
 story, they could as readily find, as they could  
 Presbyters or Monks. And the truth is, that as  
 soon as we have any credible accounts about them,  
 we meet with an Episcopacy among them; a pri-  
 mitive Episcopacy, not shining in state, or adorn-  
 ed with titles, but a regular order of men to ma-  
 nage the affairs of religion, and provide the church  
 with a necessary succession of clergy. These old Bi-  
 shops, whether many or few at a time, seem to  
 have lived here and there, as was most conveni-  
 ent, with their clergy about them. For as yet we  
 find no stately cathedrals, or sumptuous palaces  
 for the Bishops to reside in, or be confined to. The  
 fashions of later days are not the standard by which  
 to judge of these old times, either in church or  
 state. The essentials of doctrine and government  
 ought to be always the same; but the externals  
 and appendages may and do vary: And perhaps  
 the way of living among the laity in Buchanan's  
 time was as different from their forefathers way,  
 as that of the Bishops in his day was from what  
 had been used in the primitive times. Yet the or-  
 der and office was the same, and the Bishop, with  
 no settled revenue either in land or money, had  
 as much spiritual power inherent in the Episcopal  
 character, when regularly conveyed, as if he pos-  
 sessed thousands or ten thousands a-year. The pri-  
 mitive Bishops had the offerings of the faithful,  
 and the devotions, as they were then called, that  
 is, the charitable donations of piously inclined  
 Christians, at their disposal; which sufficiently an-  
 swered all the temporal exigencies of the Church,  
 and out of which every Bishop provided for the  
 maintenance of his Presbyters, whom he sent out,

**LETTER** as he saw expedient, to officiate in sacred things, thro' the different parts of his charge: For as yet there were no fixed presbyteral cures, or, as we now call them, Parishes with settled incumbents confined to them. All under the Bishop's inspection were his parish, and belonged to his church. And the inferior clergy went out from him, and by his orders, to the various corners of his parish, to perform their ministrations, and returned again at his call. Thus Bede tells us, that Bishop Colman's clergy of Lindisfarne never went to the villages but to preach, baptize, visit the sick, and take care of the people's souls; and that whenever they came, the people assembled about them, to hear the word of life from them. And such, we may conclude, had been the practice of the Scottish Church of Hy, whence Colman and his clergy came, and to whose rites we find them so scrupulously adhering.

Bede. lib. iii.  
cap. 26.

There was no appearance as yet among us of the many monastic orders, under various names, and of various colours, which were starting up in other places, and in a subsequent period flocked over to our country in such numerous swarms. The monastery, as it is called, but more properly the College of Hy-columkill, as founded by Columba, was of no order, and ascribed to no rule that we know of. It was a society of clergy, ready at all times to answer any call or emergency, at the command of the Abbot, under whose obedience the place was, or of a Bishop, when he came to visit it. The old Bishops, in other parts of the Christian Church, had such monasteries, that is, societies of clergy about them, but widely different from the monasteries, or mixed conventions of clergy and laity, which made such a figure and noise among the

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Romanists in after-times. I know, many of our LETTER  
 historians boast not a little of the simplicity, the IX.  
 poverty, and laboriousness of the old Scottish Monks  
 before the coming of Palladius: And could they  
 have assured me, from unquestionable vouchers,  
 that there were such men at that period, I should  
 have given them credit for their character of them.  
 But bare assertions are not a sufficient foundation  
 for degrading comparisons, however just these  
 comparisons might be, if there were ground for  
 them. The idleness and uselessness of the Scottish  
 Monks in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, is  
 no proof that there were Monks in Scotland in the  
 fourth and fifth: And if it had not been to aim  
 the weightier blow at the Monks and churchmen  
 of his own time, we may suppose a man of Bu-  
 chanan's stamp would not have so harmoniously  
 chimed with the Popish Boece in a panegyric up-  
 on Monks at any time. I know too what a noise  
 has been made about our old Scottish Culdees, and  
 how loftily they have been cried up by the Presby-  
 terian party both at home and abroad, as the  
 model of their constitution, and the laudable ex-  
 ample which they copy after. But the accounts  
 we have of them, from such remaining records  
 as give any kind of intelligence concerning them,  
 do not bring them within the period to which our  
 inquiry has yet extended. For, during all the  
 time of the separate establishment of the two king-  
 doms, there is not the least vestige to be met with  
 in any old annals now extant, abstracting from the  
 groundless flights of Boece, and partial invectives  
 of Buchanan, of any order, rank, or character  
 of clergy or teachers, among either the Picts or  
 the Scots, different from the then practice of the  
 universal church, which we are sure was, as far  
 back



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IX.

back as Buchanan's Palladius, or even Boetius Victor, perfectly and in the strictest sense of the word, Episcopal. Nay, it appears farther, from all that we know of these obscure ages, that the Church in this country was much of the old primitive stamp in St Cyprian's time, governed and taught, as the African Church was, by her own Bishops and clergy, independent of the Church of Rome, or of any other national church whatever, yet willing to revere and hold communion with her, and with every other sister-church, as far as was consistent with that freedom and equality which belonged to every Bishop in the management of affairs within his own jurisdiction, and for which he was accountable to no one superior upon earth, but only for order's sake, and under Christ, to a lawful and regular Council of his brethren Bishops of his own church and communion.

How long our Church continued in this plain and primitive state, we shall soon discover in the prosecution of our subject. Mean time, I am, &c.

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LETTER

X.

## LETTER X.

*Observations on the State of the Pictish Church and Nation—Its Union with the Scottish, under Kenneth Macalpine—Character of that Prince—His Removal of the Episcopal See from Abernethy to St Andrews—Account of the Culdees.*

ALTHOUGH we are now entering on a period of clearer intelligence than any we have hitherto met with, yet it is not in the very beginning of it, that we are to look for this agreeable change. The confused state in which we still find the civil constitution of our country, does not promise much order and regularity in the church concerns of it; and the incorporation of the two national Churches would take up time, and be a work of some difficulty, as well as the union of the two states. We are told indeed by our own writers, that the Church among the Picts had been in a miserable state of servitude. So says Fordun; "Hitherto the Church (more Pictorum) by the Pictish constitution, had been subject to slavery." And Buchanan to the same purpose observes, that "under the Picts the ministers of the church had been little better than

U

"slaves."

Scotichr.  
Lib. iv.  
cap. 17.

LETTER "slaves." Yea, an old chronicle, produced by  
 X. Mr Innés, attributes the destruction of that people  
 to their oppressing the church. All which accu-  
 sations seem to be weakly founded; as none of  
 them mention any particulars of that oppression.  
 On the other hand we have seen some of the Pictish  
 Kings as devout as their contemporaries; a Na-  
 tan for instance, a Constantine, and a Hungus  
 building churches; and doing what they thought  
 lay to their hands, to promote the interests of re-  
 ligion, and to support and encourage the mini-  
 sters of it. Indeed there is an alleviation of this  
 general charge offered, by supposing, that this  
 might have been the case only under the two or  
 three last of their Kings, from Hungus, to O-  
 Kenneth, who, in the eye of the Scottish writers  
 were all usurpers, and in that character would pay  
 no more regard to the liberties of the church  
 than to the good of the people. But the reason  
 cause of this accusation, and, I might say, of all  
 the contempt thrown upon the Pictish nation by  
 late writers, seems to be this. The Scottish na-  
 tion had now got the prevalency, and would read-  
 ily countenance every thing that might tend to  
 lessen the glory of their former rivals the Picts.  
 There had long been an emulation between them  
 for martial prowess, and we need not doubt but  
 this spirit would diffuse itself even into their  
 church concerns. The Picts had long stood out  
 against the Scottish claim of succession. The first  
 claimant Alpin they had taken prisoner, and cut  
 off his head. His son Kenneth had encountered  
 numberless difficulties, and been obliged to risk  
 many a bloody battle before he got his title estab-  
 lished, and the possession of the Pictish crown se-  
 cured. This opposition, just or not, would natu-  
 rally in-  
 some cr-  
 time, a  
 out ag-  
 were c-  
 and fro-  
 been p-  
 sion, to  
 their r-  
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 tion at  
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 old law

Buch. hist.  
 lib. vi. in  
 reg. 73.  
 Crit. Essay  
 p. 782.

duced by rally irritate the victors, and no doubt occasion some cruelties to the persons of the Picts at that time, as well as the aspersions that were thrown out against their characters afterwards. They were certainly an ancient and a brave people, and from what few monuments of them have been preserved, they appear, after their conversion, to have been as zealous and punctual in their religious observances as any of the neighbouring nations within the island.

Indeed I cannot help thinking that their situation at the time of the Scottish claim, was truly pitiable, and that their standing out so long against that claim might in some measure be justified, if not according to the strict letter of right, yet by what appears to have been the practice of those times. The Scottish King Achaius had married Fergusia, sister to the Pictish King Hungus. By her he had a son Alpin, who on the death of Dorstologus and Eogan, the two sons of Hungus, without issue, laid claim to the Pictish crown in virtue of his mother's title. All our historians agree in this: Even Buchanan himself, no great friend to claims of this kind, acknowledges that Alpin sought the Pictish kingdom, as "sister's son to Hungus, and both by old law and right of blood, the nearest heir." The old law which he refers to, he had found in Bede, who tells us that "when the Picts first came in among the Scots, the Scots consented to furnish them with wives upon this condition, that when the succession came to be doubtful, they should chuse their King rather out of the female line than of the male;" which custom, Bede says, was observed among the Picts to his day. But that old law, if ever there was such an one, might

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Anch. hist.  
lib. 5. in  
reg. 67.

Bede, lib. 3.  
cap. 1.



LETTER have been forgotten in the course of so many  
 X. hundred years, or might have been set aside  
 when attended with any manifest inconvenience.  
 The Picts saw the Scottish nation paying no regard to immediate succession in their own kingdom, but studying what they called the public good on every vacancy of their throne. Thus very Alpin, who was claiming the Pictish kingdom in right of his mother Fergusia, had not then succeeded to his Father Achaius, and the Scottish monarch Dongallus, who was pushing Alpin's title by his mother, was possessing the inheritance which came to Alpin by his father. If Alpin was at that time a minor, and thereby incapable to govern the Scots, he would be equally incapable of governing the Picts. But that he was not a minor is certain: For between his father's death and his own, we are told there were only fourteen years, when his son Kenneth succeeded, so must have been born in his grandfather's time. Consequently Alpin was then ca-

\* A parallel instance seems to have occurred in the history of the Picts about 300 years before this. Their then King Lothus had married Anna, sister, and, at the time of her marriage, only heir to the British King Uther, by which marriage, and to draw Lothus into a league against the Saxons, it was stipulated, that the issue of Lothus by Anna should, failing lawful issue of Uther, succeed to the British crown. Yet on Uther's death, the Britons set up his adulterous bastard Arthur, then only 18 years of age, in prejudice of Anna's son Modredus. And tho' Lothus yielded to this breach of treaty in favour of Arthur, who renewed the former agreement about the succession, on the event of his own dying without children, yet even in Arthur's lifetime, and by his consent, the Britons set up a Constantine, as heir of the crown, alledging the impropriety of their being governed by a stranger, and that they had princes enough among themselves to wield the British sceptre. So the children of Anna were set aside, and both Modred and Arthur fell in the contest.

able

so many able to have taken immediate possession of his fa-  
 set aside er's throne, without any necessity for the two  
 enience. interruptions that were before him. What reason  
 ng no re- therefore, the Picts might argue, could the Scots  
 wn king- ve to claim the Pictish throne for their young  
 e public- ince, when they were at the same time keep-  
 e. This- ing him out of their own? And had not they as  
 tish king- od a title to set up a Feredethus among them-  
 had not- ves, as the Scots had to set up a Congallus  
 and the- st, and then a Dongallus, in Alpin's room?  
 pushing- was surely most absurd in the Scots to claim  
 essing the- e right of hereditary succession to their King's  
 is father- p in another kingdom, while they were for  
 hereby in- a years excluding him from an equally fair  
 be equal- d open succession in their own. For tho' it is  
 But that- lowed on all hands, that Kenneth, in prosecu-  
 ween his- on of the war begun by his father Alpin, did at  
 old there- st utterly subdue the Picts with a great slaugh-  
 Kenneth- r, and get possession of the Pictish kingdom by  
 is grand- e force of his arms, yet it is equally certain  
 then ca- at the war was begun at first in pursuit of Al-  
 the history of King Lothian's marriage, only and to draw  
 and to draw- pulated, the  
 ue of Uther- th, the Bri-  
 18 years of- tho' Lothian  
 ur, who re- on the event  
 rthur's life- stantine, re-  
 r being go- ough among  
 ren of Anna- the contest  
 able-

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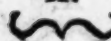
X.

 Scotchron.  
 l. iii. c. 64

Scottish

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Scottish policy before their eyes, to warrant their proceedings, and might plead the public good, as much as the Scottish estates did, for the privilege they often assumed, of appointing proper Kings to govern them, to the exclusion of the immediate heir. It will not be an easy matter to reconcile this incongruity, to produce any solid, satisfying argument for the difference between Alpin's titles, and his son Kenneth's as derived from him, to the two crowns of the Picts and Scots, or to shew why hereditary right should be pleaded for the one, and the other made to stand on the favour of the people. Our historians may amuse us with old laws, and original compacts, and rhetorical flourishes "de jure regni apud Scotos." And from such plausible inventions they may infer a diversity of constitution in the two states, which is all indeed that can be said on the subject, and is only said but not proved, as there are no documents extant to evince such a diversity, in these antient times, between two neighbouring nations. However, the historical accounts of this affair, if they are to be credited, may serve to confirm an observation which the annals of the old Grecian and Roman-republics hold out to us, and of the truth of which even modern times afford not a few demonstrations, that these very nations or states which are most tenacious of their own liberties, under the popular pretence of claiming what they call the common and natural rights of mankind, seldom stick at any method, when in their power, of invading the liberties of others, and endeavouring to bring their weaker neighbours under that slavery which they themselves profess to abhor.

With this observation, I now take leave of the Picts

warrants, and go on in the prosecution of my de-  
 sign, from this important era of the union of the  
 two crowns, whether by succession or conquest,  
 in the person of Kenneth Macalpin, who was the  
 first monarch of that part of Britain now called  
 Scotland. Our historians all agree in giving him  
 great character not only for bravery and reso-  
 lution, of which his at last subduing the outstand-  
 ing part of the Pictish nation was a visible mo-  
 nument, but likewise for every virtuous quality  
 that becomes a wise and good King. Both For-  
 dun and Boece mention a number of excellent  
 laws made by him, for the regulation of his new  
 kingdom, which Fordun says were called the  
 Macalpine laws, among which are to be found  
 some statutes concerning ecclesiastical matters,  
 which were no doubt made in a public meeting  
 or assembly, with the concurrence of the Bishops;  
 since it was the universal discipline of the church  
 at those times, that no ecclesiastical laws could  
 be enacted without episcopal authority and con-  
 sent. In these assemblies the secular and ecclesi-  
 astical states used to sit promiscuously. This was  
 the practice of Charlemagne and his next succes-  
 sors in France and Germany. And from the cor-  
 respondence between these countries and ours,  
 we may be allowed to infer, that Kenneth would  
 readily adopt a plan formed by such a prudent  
 prince, and tending, in all appearance, to heal the  
 intestine discords, and promote the general good  
 of his now extended kingdom.  
 His first public transaction in church matters,  
 of which we are certain of, after his settlement on the  
 Pictish throne, was removing the episcopal see  
 from Abernethy in Strathern to the church of  
 Reul or Kilmont, which he ordained to be  
 ever

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Scotichron.

l. iv. cap. 8.

Boeth.

lib. x.



LETTER ever after called St. Andrews. Both these places  
 X. had belonged to the Picts. Abernethy had been  
 one of their royal cities, and the residence of  
 their chief Bishop: But it would seem Kenneth  
 had taken disgust at the place, because the Picts  
 when they slew his father, had exposed his head  
 as a public spectacle in the most conspicuous part  
 of it. Kilremont, formerly Mucrofs, on the Eastern  
 coast of Fife, had been traditionally famous  
 for the landing of the Monk Regulus or Regulus  
 with the relics of St. Andrew out of Greece.  
 So from regard to this tradition which was prob-  
 ably current in Kenneth's time, or to perpetuate  
 the veneration which his predecessor and grand-  
 uncle Hungus had expressed for the Apostle, the  
 episcopal dignity was now transferred to this  
 place, which has retained that lustre thro' a long  
 succession of Bishops, whose names are on record  
 from the date of this removal down to the end  
 of the last century. And here it may not be  
 improper to observe that, in the affair of the  
 translation, none of our historians take the least  
 notice of the Pope's having any concern, or of  
 the King's thinking his consent necessary; that  
 at that time, in other parts of the christian church  
 such a business would not have been transacted  
 without the Pope's having a hand in it. The  
 erecting or changing episcopal sees was a pre-  
 vious jewel in the papal mitre, and the histories  
 of these ages are full of the interference and con-  
 siderations of the Popes on these occasions. But it seems  
 they as yet had little knowledge of what was going  
 on in our Northern parts; and when we find  
 them afterwards beginning to take concern and  
 interpose their authority in our church affairs,  
 we are not told that they found any fault with

his removal of the episcopal see to St. Andrews, without their concurrence: Which shews, that in such matters a national church may make use of her own inherent powers, and study what is most suitable to her present convenience, without the knowledge or consent of any other church, even of the church of Rome herself. This was the primitive form of church-government, however much incroached upon by Romish pride, or fettered by worldly policy in after-times: And when such incroachments, from whatever quarter, are carried to immoderate lengths, and begin to be altogether destructive of the church's well-being and essential interests, every national church, as a part of the one catholic, may resume her original privileges, and mould her outward constitution, as to her spiritual governors shall appear most expedient. On this footing was the see of St. Andrews at this time erected, and the Bishops of that see were henceforward called the principal Bishops of the Scots, and were looked up to with respect and deference by all the clergy of the Scottish church.

It will be proper now, according to what I promised in the close of my former letter, to take some notice of a particular class of clergy in our country, who about this time began, and long continued to make a figure, under the peculiar denomination of *Culdees*; and whose character, as described by our later historians, has been improved by some writers, foreign as well as domestic, into a vindication of that plan of church-government which rejects Bishops, and admits no degrees of superiority in the church. Boece says, *Hist. l. vi.* "the first preachers of the gospel here being holy and devout men, were called Culdees, quasi Coli-

X

" dei,

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X.

Buch. Hist.

Lib. vi in

R. 75.

Lib. iv. r. 35.

Hist. b. 1.

p. 2.

Hist. Acc.

p. 138.

Introduct

ch. 16.

“ dei, or cultores Dei, *Worshippers of God.*” And Buchanan in one place adopts this interpretation tho’ before he seems to derive the word from the *cells* where they lived in a state of recluse solitude. This is Archbishop Spottiswood’s opinion, which is in some measure adopted by the Bishop of Scotland. But the most probable of all seems to be what Mr. Goodall offers, that the name appears to be of Scotch original, compounded of *Keil* a servant, and *Dbe* God, as in all the old papers which mention them, they are called *Keildei*, not *Culdei*, according to Boece’s fanciful etymology. These *Culdees* are described as a peculiar order of men, who had peculiar tenets of their own, and performed their ministerial functions with great strictness and attention, exactly on the model of the modern parity: And this description of their character has been much laid hold of, and insisted on by certain writers with great keenness. But when we ask for the proofs on which it is founded, we find none, but must rest satisfied with honest Boece’s single authority. Yet he is by far too late a voucher for a fact of so high antiquity, and of such forced importance. It is surprizing that Bede, who wrote eight hundred years before Boece, found no *Culdees* among the Scots in his day: Nor Adamnanus, in his life of Columba, the great founder of what was then called the monastic institution in our country. The silence of two so early writers, who had such opportunities to know, and whose business led them to take notice of such peculiarities among the clergy whom they were describing, gives some ground to suspect that what Boece and his followers say of them, is little better than vague declamation. The earliest ac-

count

"An account of the Culdees that we can depend upon, LETTER  
 from the chartulary of St. Andrews, where X.  
 we meet with a deed of Brude son of Dergard,  
 the last King of the Picts, giving the island of  
 Lochlevin to Almighty God and to St. Serva-  
 nus, and "Keledeis Deo servientibus et servitu-  
 ris," to the Keledees serving and to serve  
 God, in that island. This would be thought su-  
 perstition by those of our days, who boast so much  
 of imitating these antient Culdees: But they, it  
 seems, had no such scruples. Accordingly the  
 Culdees of Lochlevin are often mentioned with  
 marks of distinction, on public occasions, and  
 doubt were active in spreading their order,  
 it may be called so, thro' other parts of the  
 country. Thus we find Keledees, not Culdees,  
 Brechin, Dunkeld, Muthil, Abernethy, &c. and  
 their Abbots and Friars witnessing the deeds of  
 Bishops, and getting churches and tythes from  
 them with the "cure of souls"; which surely  
 would not have happened, if the Culdees had held  
 any article in doctrine, government, or worship,  
 distinct from what was then professed in the na-  
 tional church. Nay the Culdees themselves never  
 refused to wear the episcopal mitre, when it was  
 regularly offered to them. Thus Gregory Bishop  
 of Dunkeld, Andrew Bishop of Caithness, and  
 some others, were chosen from among the Cul-  
 dees: Nor did these Culdee Bishops refuse the  
 ordinary designations, as appears from the fol-  
 lowing; "I Gregory, by the authority of God  
 and of the holy Apostles Peter and Paul, and  
 of the holy Apostle Andrew, Bishop of Dun-  
 keld." It is true the superiors of the Culdee  
 convents had frequent disputes with their respec-  
 tive Bishops about lands and tythes, and such se-  
 cular.



LETTER cular matters: And if their contending thus with  
 X. Bishops be the part of their character that pleases most now-a-days, it should be remembered what method they took to have the contention decided, which was always by application to the Pope, as at that time the grand umpire in all such contendible cases. Would Calvin, with his Culdees at Geneva, or John Knox, with his followers in Scotland, have made such an application, or submitted to the Pope's decision? Why then should they pretend to imitate the Culdee clergy, or talk so highly of the good old Scottish Culdees, as if that title had been peculiar to Scotland? We are told by Archbishop Usher, that the Keledees of Armagh in Ireland were anciently the Dean and Chapter of that church, but were forced to give way to Monks of a later institution, tho' they were still suffered to remain in lower stations, and continued in that church, and in the church of Cluanynish, until the Archbishop's remembrance. The Bishop of St. Asaph produces Giraldus Cambrensis, who lived about the year 1200, mentioning the Colidei (which is the first time, the Bishop says, this latinized title is to be met with) in the little island of Bardsey in North Wales, and in another island in Tipperary in Ireland, who devoutly served in a Chapel there. And a later writer Mr Tanner, informs us, that there were Culdees at St. Peter's in York. So it appears, that other churches had Culdees as well as ours. Yea, such as the old pure Scottish Culdees are described to have been, were the inferior Clergy in all the primitive church. For as soon as we have any certain information about them, we find them in communion with, and even subject to ecclesiastical superiors, as indeed their first certain appearance

Usher de  
 Prim.  
 p. 637.

Hist. Acc.  
 p. 144.

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ice was in the days of confest superiority in the church; so that, whatever other peculiarities might have been about them, there is nothing in their history to countenance the use that has in modern times been made of them in favour of the levelling scheme. Had that learned French Huguenot in the last century, Mr. David Blondel, been as well acquainted with the history of our Culdees, as our own critics have been, he would not so confidently have adduced them to his purpose of maintaining ordination by Presbyters: and it is not much to the honour of our own countrymen, who might have known better, to lay so much stress on the mistakes of a foreigner, who, however judicious in many respects, could not be sufficiently versed in every thing relative to our nation. For after all that has been said, there can be said about the Culdees, as a particular kind or order of clergy among the Scots, there may have been nothing peculiar about them but the name, a name derived from some of the dialects then spoken in Britain, and according to Goodal's interpretation, (which the additional clause in King Brude's gift, "Deo servientibus, servants of God," seems to corroborate) appropriated to the clergy in general, without any respect had to superiority or equality among them. Even Boece himself, the great pillar of this Culdee fabric, gives some ground for this notion in the place before quoted, where he says, "These Culdees chose by common vote among themselves, a *Chief Priest* who had power in things belonging to God, and who for many years after was called Bishop of the Scots." This is his account of the matter, which, if there be any truth in it, plainly shews that

LETTER that the Culdees had a Chief-priest or Bishop among them. But indeed there is no great credit due to it: And yet the certainty of the clergy being called Culdees, as soon as there were clergy among the Scots, needs not be doubted. They might have gone by this name among their countrymen, even in Adamnanus' and Bede's time, tho' these writers had not thought fit to transform it into the Latin idiom: And both Adamnanus' Columba, and Bede's Aidan, might have been called *Keledee* in the Gaelic language. *Hy*, as properly as *Servus* or *Vir Dei*, (servant or man of God) in the Latin. There is nothing in the word *Keledee*, under any derivation, to hinder its belonging to, or being descriptive of any clerical rank or order in the church; nothing but what may be as applicable to a Bishop, as to a Presbyter or Monk. And under this designation of *Keledees*, peculiar not to the people but to the language, the Scottish clergy might have continued to be distinguished at home, and to enjoy the old primitive privilege of chusing their Bishops from among themselves, till in process of time, along with other deviations, the nomination of Bishops began to come from other quarters, and swarms of favourite monks (as we shall see in course) poured in from abroad upon them. On this gradual change of discipline, we may suppose the old Scottish clergy would for some time retain their old Scottish name of *Keledee*, and be distinguished by that name, as much from contempt as respect, in the latinized writings of subsequent times. And this may help to account for the many and hot disputes between the few who still adhered to the old way under the old name, and the clergy who were brought in upon them either by

Bishop or papal power. In these disputes the Cul-  
 dees seldom prevailed; and by degrees were de-  
 prived of most of their possessions, or incorporat-  
 ed into some of the new orders. The last of them  
 who kept their ground, as they seem to have  
 been the oldest of the denomination, were the Cul-  
 dees of Lochleven. This body of them had for a  
 long time been, what modern times would call,  
 the chapter of St. Andrew's, and had enjoyed  
 the privilege of electing the Bishop, till King Da-  
 vid assigned it to the Prior and Canons Regular  
 of St. Augustin, whom his brother Alexander  
 had brought in and settled at St. Andrew's.—  
 This change occasioned frequent debates and ap-  
 peals to Rome, in which the Culdees generally  
 lost the worst: Till in the year 1298, Mr. Lam-  
 erton Chancellor of Glasgow, being by the Prior  
 and Canons of St. Andrew's chosen Bishop on  
 the death of Bishop Frazer, the then superior of the  
 Culdees of Lochleven, William Cuming (whom  
 with Archbishop Usher and the Bishop of St.  
 Asaph, from some vitiated record, call Aulmin)  
 opposed the election, and revived his claim be-  
 fore the Pope: But after strenuous debates on  
 both sides, the matter was finally decided in fa-  
 vour of the Prior, with this additional honour, that  
 all time coming, the Prior of St. Andrew's  
 should have precedence of all the Abbots and  
 Monks in Scotland, and the now neglected Cul-  
 dees were for ever excluded from their former  
 rights: Which, says Archbishop Spotswood, turn-  
 ed so much to their disgrace, that their name and  
 order was by little and little quite extinguished;  
 and from this time we hear no more of them.  
 From the little I have said about them, you  
 may plainly see, there is nothing in their history  
 of

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Hist. b. ii.  
p. 51.



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XI. of any great importance, or that can fairly in any material peculiarity: And their name is more than a description, in the old language the country, of the ministers of religion in general, without regard to distinction or character any sort. I am, &c.

L E T T E R XI.

*Two Objections to Diocesan Episcopacy answered—  
State of the Scottish Church, from the Time  
Kenneth Macalpine to the Death of Gregory  
Great.*

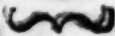
HAVING, in the preceding Letter, discussed the argument drawn from the history of Scottish Culdees, in favour of ecclesiastical par I am now to take notice of two more objections raised from the history of these old times, to combat the ecclesiastical settlements of after-ages. It has been said, that in these early days, there was but one Bishop in Scotland, who after Kenneth Macalpin's time, had his residence at St. Andrew, having been removed thither from Abernethy, which had been, in like manner, the residence of the one Bishop among the Picts. And for this we are referred to the authority of Fordun,

rs, that "Garnard King of the Picts built the LETTER  
 collegiate Church of Abernethy, and that in XI.  
 that church there were three elections made,  
 when as yet there was but one Bishop in the <sup>Scotiehr.</sup>  
 kingdom." From this it is inferred, that what l. iv. c. 12.  
 now called Diocesan Episcopacy under a multi-  
 ple of Bishops, was not the old constitution of  
 the church, but a late innovation, brought in by  
 the prevailing superstition of after-times. Yet it  
 is not easy to see the force or design of this obser-  
 vation, tho' it were true. One great complaint of  
 the opposers of Episcopacy has been, that Bishop-  
 rks are for the most part too large, and beyond  
 any one man's ability to take a proper oversight of  
 them. But certainly the most extensive Diocese  
 that ever was in Scotland, was not equal to the  
 whole kingdom in the number of christians, even  
 at Kenneth Macalpin's time, and for many years  
 before him. So that the inconvenience complain-  
 ed of lies on the side of the present supposition,  
 and not on any subsequent division, which tended  
 rather to remove the alledged grievance. But the  
 truth is, there is no ground for the supposition  
 which Fordun has occasioned: For, tho' we were  
 to give him credit for what he says of the one  
 Bishop among the Picts in Garnard's time, and  
 three elections after, yet it should be remem-  
 bered, that he makes this Garnard the immediate  
 successor of Brude, son of Meilochon, who was  
 converted and baptized by Columba; so that one  
 Bishop might for some years have been sufficient  
 for this new church among the northern Picts,  
 and till the faith should spread more diffusively  
 among them. But from all that Fordun or any  
 following writer says, it does not follow that this  
 was the case at Kenneth's accession, which was

LETTER more than two hundred years after Garnan  
 XXI. time: Only that for some reason or other, which  
 our historians have not come to the certain know-  
 ledge of, he thought fit to deprive Abernethy of  
 the honour of a resident Bishop, and invest Kil-  
 mont with it.

That the Bishop of St. Andrews was not the  
 only Bishop in Scotland, before that division of the  
 kingdom into Dioceses, which all our historians  
 agree in, we have, if not undoubted proofs, but  
 strong presumptions at least, as would be sufficient  
 in other cases. In the time of Kenneth III. less  
 more than a hundred years after the present era, we  
 are told, even by Buchanan, that he applied to the  
 Bishops and Monks for their service and advice upon  
 a certain serious occasion. Both Boece and Spalding  
 wood give us the names of several of these Bishops,  
 particularly of a Moveanus, who was the King's  
 Confessor. And about the same time, we read in  
 the English annals, of a Scottish Bishop, Beorn-  
 mus, assisting at an English Synod at Canterbury  
 Wiltshire: None of whom, neither Moveanus nor  
 Beornelmus, are to be found in any of the several  
 Catalogues which Bishop Keith has given us of the  
 Bishops of St. Andrews, so have belonged to some  
 other place, and from the accounts of them, seem  
 to have been men of character and repute. Indeed  
 there is so little foundation for this conceit, and  
 so little to be made of it, tho' it were better found-  
 ed, that I should not have so much as mentioned  
 it, if it had not been to let nothing, however tri-  
 vial, pass unobserved, which the adversaries of the  
 Scottish Episcopacy can possibly allege against it.

But there is another objection to Diocesan Episcopacy,  
 of a quite different complexion, drawn from the  
 history of these times, and held forth by different

different writers for different purposes. These LETTER  
 objectors allow that there were more Bishops in the XI.  
 country than either at Abernethy or St. Andrews,   
 but insist that they were confined to no district,  
 but performed their Episcopal functions at large,  
 wherever they happened to reside or travel.  
 This had been said by Boece, with a compliment  
 to the veneration which the sanctity of their con-  
 versation procured them. After him Buchanan  
 makes the same observation, that "the old  
 Bishops of the Scots, being chosen out of the  
 monasteries, while as yet there was no conten-  
 tion amongst them for honours and places, but  
 only for piety and learning, did, without envy  
 or emulation, perform their office every where  
 as they found occasion, there being then no divi-  
 sion of provinces, and the ecclesiastical function  
 not a business of worldly gain." This is indeed a  
 precious and much magnified description of the  
 ancient constitution of our church. But if it be  
 thought to militate against Diocesan Episcopacy,  
 does it not equally overthrow Parochial Presbytery?  
 If the Presbyters fixed to particular parishes,  
 and the Bishops the only itinerants, who had no  
 peculiar charge allotted to them? One thing is  
 certain, that in the primitive church, before Con-  
 stantine's time, there were separate districts assign-  
 ed to the several Bishops, who, besides their ge-  
 neral concern in the whole flock of Christ, were  
 particularly connected with, and under certain re-  
 gulations restricted, as it were, to these districts.  
 Now by whom could such assignments be made?  
 Not by the secular powers: For they were, for three  
 hundred years, against the church in general, so  
 could have no hand in any of her particular con-  
 cerns. It could be done only by the church her-  
 self,

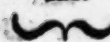
Book x.

Buch. hist.  
lib. vi. in  
reg. 69.



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self, by the joint concurrence of her Bishops and Governors, as they found it convenient and practicable, tho' for the most part as near to the provincial divisions of the state, as the situation of church affairs would admit. And when the state came into the church by the Emperors becoming Christians, the old appointments made by the church were in most instances homologated by the state, tho' in some few cases, and for the honour of some favourite cities, alterations were sometimes proposed by the Emperors, and agreed to by the Bishops. Might not something like this have been the original model of our church, both among the Picts and Scots? And when our historians say that a King Garnard fixed an Episcopal See at Abernethy, or a Kenneth one at St. Andrews, may not the meaning be, that these were the only restrictions which these Kings interfered in, the one, we may suppose, out of favour to the royal seat, and the other out of veneration to the memory of the apostle St. Andrew? And that the rest of the country was left by them to be so ordered and divided, for receiving the benefit of religious offices, as the other Bishops and Clergy should judge most expedient? In which case, the most natural conclusion is, that they would adopt what they could not but know was the form of the catholic church at all times and in all nations. But that a promiscuous ministry in holy things, such as our historical relations in the common acceptance seem to insinuate, could be for any space of time adhered to over a whole national church, is not at all supposable, as history affords no instance, and reason disproves the possibility of it. Such a confusion of attendance, such an uncertainty of supply, in a word, such universal disorder and

regularity would be the consequence, as would be direct opposition to the apostolic canon, "Let all things be done decently, and according to order." And even in Buchanan's narration, which is on enlargement upon Boece, and the ground-work of all the modern notions upon this subject, there may be found what is sufficient to discover the inconsistency of his story, with the usual interpretation put upon it. He says, the old Bishops of the Scots, who thus travelled and officiated over all, were, "*e monasteriis electi*," chosen out of monasteries. Now these monasteries could be no other than societies of Clergy or Churchmen, and the Monks, so much spoken of in those days, were men who had dedicated themselves to, and were preparing for the service of the church. Out of these societies, Buchanan says, the Bishops were chosen. Be it so: I would ask, Who chose them? It will be answered, the other monks or members of the monasteries. But to what purpose, or for whose benefit were they chosen, whoever shall be said to be the electors? This is the main question, and ought to be attended to. In the common acceptation of election of Bishops or Ministers, which is such a darling privilege with some people, as if the whole of religion were wrapped up in it, it can only hold, and indeed is only claimed, when there is a vacancy in some particular place, upon the death or removal of the Bishop or Minister who had been particularly connected with that place before. But on our present hypothesis there can be no such vacancy, as there is supposed no such particular connection; so there can be no necessity, nor indeed room, for any new election, till all the Bishops of the kingdom should be dead at one time. Besides, when

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Bu.

LETTER Buchanan speaks of *monasteries* in the plural number, is it to be understood that, when there was need to chuse a Bishop, he was to be chosen out of all the monasteries, or only out of one of them at one time, and out of another at another time according to the various exigencies that required or directed the choice? This last, I presume, will be allowed to be his meaning: And if so, it will follow, that the nearest monastery would be applied to for a Bishop, when there was occasion for one, and the people in that neighbourhood would look upon themselves as more immediately under such a Bishop's inspection, or, as we say now-a-days, properly belonging to his charge. The monasteries were certainly fixed to some one particular spot of ground, and the monks or clergy who studied in them, being, as we may suppose, for the most part natives of the respective neighbourhoods, would originally have, or in time contract an acquaintance with the christian people round about them. This would form a connexion between them and the people, and would lead to applications from the latter, and a readiness in the former with respect to the exercise of ecclesiastical administrations. Whether such a connexion could be called strictly Diocesan, is not material to inquire. It seems to be the most natural form that can be supposed, and most analogous to what we are sure was the constitution of the church in St. Cyprian's days, when the then prevailing Episcopacy is on all hands acknowledged to have been truly and properly Diocesan. Yea, there is no other way of understanding the concurrent, but imperfect accounts, which our histories give us of the Episcopal management in those days. Boetius indeed says, that the kingdom was not as yet divided

vided into Dioceses: And Buchanan tells us, that LETTER  
 the countries were not as yet marked out, "nullis XI.  
 adhuc regionibus definitis." But this might  
 be said with reference to their own times, and to  
 such standing and determined distributions as had  
 been afterwards made, either by regal or papal  
 authority. For in old times the country was not  
 evenly divided into provinces or shires, as it is  
 now, under the particular jurisdiction of subordi-  
 nate judges or magistrates; but the King sent out  
 his justiciars to the various parts of the kingdom,  
 at his pleasure, or as he saw necessary. And yet we  
 are not to think, that these justiciars had promif-  
 sorious powers to interfere as they pleased in one  
 another's regulations, which, instead of answering  
 the good end proposed, would have caused a  
 strange jumble of anarchy and confusion; but we  
 must believe them to have been restricted to certain  
 limits, and their jurisdiction to have been parti-  
 cularly applied to these restrictions. Why may  
 we not suppose that the Church-government would,  
 as nearly as possible, follow the same orderly and  
 beneficial plan, and that the Bishops would be ap-  
 pointed to their several ministrations in such a way  
 as not to entangle, or interfere with one another,  
 in the essential and indispensable parts of their sa-  
 cred function?

Indeed, upon a close examination of all this ac-  
 count of Buchanan's, which came from his pen,  
 no doubt, with a particular design, we shall find  
 nothing in it peculiar to our nation, or which the  
 advocates of ecclesiastical parity can fairly lay hold  
 on, to patronize their departure from the original  
 constitution. Where Buchanan says, that in those  
 days the sacred function was not "quæstuarium,"  
 business of worldly gain, he says what is very  
 right.



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Buch. hist.  
lib. 5. in  
reg. 65.Nenn.  
Hist. Brit.  
cap. 63.

right. And we say, it ought not to be so in any days. But it does not follow that the Bishops then had no means to live by, nor subsistence to depend upon. He himself tells us, that "Hung" "King of the Picts gave the tenth of all his royal domains to St. Andrew," which, in the language of those days, if true, (and we have Buchanan's word for it) was a donation, and a liberal one too, to the church. And an old writer, Nennius, who lived in the ninth century, a hundred and twenty years after Bede, so is contemporary with this King Kenneth, speaks of a village called Wedale, in the Lothians, not far from the monastery of Melrose, which village, he says, was subject to the Bishop of St. Andrews, "nunc juncti" "Episcopi S. Andreæ." By donations of this kind, the clergy, it seems, were sufficiently supported; and it is not unlikely that even then amidst all the simplicity and disinterestedness which Buchanan and his party so much extol there might be sometimes a few worldly-minded spirits who would follow Christ for the loaves, and in a carnal sense, wish to make gain of godliness. I have said this much by way of reasoning, upon the part of our church history now before me both to do justice, as I thought, to the historical accounts of our church settlement in those days and because we have lived to see the common acceptance of these accounts made use of to justify a particular scheme of Episcopacy, which I shall take a view of, when I come nearer to our own times.

The erection of the See of St. Andrews is the principal thing, in ecclesiastical management, that we find recorded of this brave and successful King Kenneth Macalpine, and from this time downward

we have indeed, names of other circumstances, wondering, every place, says, "expell these case of "Har "Fot Even the said holdacy in Sir James them, among "hund Fotha "inscrip To this in the c "first B or princ first or p case, the "scripion, "gister continuat of "prin

\* In the continuator, Buchanan

we have the succession of its Bishops preserved. LETTER  
indeed, there is some difference in the order and XI.  
names of the most ancient of them, which, considering the darkness of those times, and some other circumstantial difficulties, is not much to be wondered at. The continuator of Fordun's history places Fothad at the head of them, where he says, "The first, as I find, was Fothad, who was expelled by K. Indulphus, and of whom I find these verses, written on the margin of a silver case of the gospels in St. Andrews,"

Scotichron.  
l. vi. c. 24.

"Hanc Evangelij thecam construxit avitus

"Fothad, qui primus Scotis episcopus est."

Even these two lines, such as they are, have been laid hold of to disprove the antiquity of Episcopacy in Scotland. And a late writer against it, Sir James Dalrymple, has, on the authority of them, asserted that "the Scots had no Bishops among them till the reign of Indulphus, a hundred years after Kenneth Macalpin, because Fothad, who lived under Indulphus, is, in this inscription, expressly called the first Bishop." To this it has been again and again answered, as in the case of Palladius, that the designation of "first Bishop," is to be understood of the primate or principal Bishop, that is, the Bishop of the first or principal See; especially as, in the present case, the same writer produces a copy of this inscription, taken out of the "Excerpts of the register of St Andrews," and prior to Fordun's continuator, which has "summus," chief, instead of "primus," first Bishop\*.

Coll. Hist.  
p. 126.

\* In the catalogue of these Bishops, according to Fordun's continuator, we meet with a second Fothad, whom Boece and Buchanan mention as mediating a peace between the two com-

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Archbishop Spotwood in his list of the Bishops of St. Andrews, on the authority of Boece, mentions an Adrian as the first of them, who was killed by the Danes in the Isle of May, along with Stolbrandus another Bishop, and a number of inferior clergy. This irruption of the Danes was likewise fatal to the King, Constantine the son of Kenneth, who was taken prisoner in battle by them, and murdered in a cave. Under this King, and probably in Adrian's time, there was held a convention at Scoon, where, according to Boece and Spotwood, it was among other things enacted, "That the clergy should reside upon their charges, and have no meddling in secular business: That they should instruct the people diligently, and give good example in their conversation: That they should not keep hawks, hounds, or horses of pleasure: That they should not carry weapons, nor be pleaders of civil causes, but should live contentedly on their own provisions: And if they were found to transgress in any of these points, for the first fault they were to be fined, and for the second deprived of their office and living." Buchanan takes care to represent all this in a much stronger light: For he says "that the King by the severity of his laws brought back to their old, frugal way of living the Sacerdotal order, who lay aside the preaching of the gospel, were debauched with luxury, and had given them

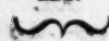
petitors for the crown, Grimus and Malcolm, near forty years after the Fothad who was expelled by Indulfus, and lived only eight years after his expulsion. Now as the inscription does not specify the time when it was made, it might have been after Fothad the second's time, in which case the title of *first* in it might belong not to the *Bishop*, but to the *Man*, and might signify nothing more but that Fothad the First gave that silver case.

" felves

selves entirely up to hunting, hawking, and all the pastimes of the court." This is surely  
 saying a great deal more to the prejudice of the clergy, than his voucher Boece had put in his mouth. For the laws at this time enacted do not necessarily suppose the clergy actually fallen into such excesses, as Buchanan confidently enough asserts, but might only be designed by way of caution, to prevent their falling into them, by copying the example of the clergy in Germany and France, whose late acquisition of lands and honours, conferred on them by Charlemagne and his son Louis, had led them into such degrees of extravagance and riot as required to be curbed by imperial prohibitions : And lest the infection should spread by the intercourse then begun between the French and Scots, it was both prudent and pious in our King, with advice of his council, by these regulations to put the clergy on their guard, and point out their duty and danger to them. For that they were in fact so corrupted as Buchanan describes them, is not very likely even from his own account of them, a little before. At Kenneth's accession he speaks of them as " holy men, without avarice or pomp : " And during Kenneth's reign, whom he admires for the justice and wisdom of his government, it is not probable that they would either have inclined or been allowed to depart so far from their former regularity of life and conversation. This convention is said to have been held within six or seven years at most after Kenneth's death, which, one should think, was too short a time to produce such a flagrant alteration of manners in any society of men whatever. It is true, both Boece and Buchanan have thought proper to represent

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XI.Scotichron.  
l. iv, c. 15.Crit. Essay  
p. 783.

Donald, the brother and successor of Kenneth, a cowardly, vicious, and corrupt Prince, and even Archbishop Spotswood, from their testimony, attributes all these fancied disorders to the degeneracy and dissoluteness of his five years reign.

But Fordun on the contrary says, he was a brave soldier, a warlike and victorious King, and that after a happy reign he died a natural death at Scoon, (or, as an old chronicle produced by Mac Innes has it, in his own palace of Bellochore) and was as much lamented at his death as his brother the great Kenneth had been.\* If all this be true of Donald Macalpin's character, and it is fully as credible as the opposite account, it confirms what I have said about the intention of King Constantine's laws, and in vindication of the Scottish clergy of his day, from that heavy charge which Buchanan, with so slight a foundation from Boece, has brought against them.

But in whatever light we view this matter, we cannot but admit the justness of Archbishop Spotswood's observation, that "at that time it was held" "no diminution of the ecclesiastical authority for Princes to give laws to the clergy, and to punish them if they were found guilty of any offence or crime." The doctrine of exempting the persons of church-men from the cognizance of the civil powers, had not as yet reached these Northern parts, and the church, which has since claimed that unscriptural privilege, was not then altogether in a capacity to enforce it. In such

\* The same Chronicle adds, what none of our historians have taken notice of, that "in his time the laws and royal statutes of his great-grand-father Edalbus" (the historians call him Edalbus, i. e. in the Gaelic language *Ed the White*) "were renewed by the Goddeli, i. e. the Scots with him at Forteviot."

things

things indeed as properly belong to, and are radi-  
ally inherent in the church, such as continuing  
the apostolic succession, and administering the ori-  
ginal institutions of the gospel, she is absolutely in-  
dependent of any earthly power whatever: As a  
separate society in herself, under her only head  
and governor in heaven, to whom alone she is  
accountable for the exercise of the spiritual powers  
with which he has entrusted her. But in mat-  
ters of civil life and conversation, as members of  
the state, and making a part of the respective  
community to which they belong, the sacred  
character of the clergy is so far from protecting  
any scandalous infringement of these laws of chris-  
tian morality which it binds and authorizes them  
to inculcate, that as it aggravates the guilt, so it  
should rather increase than diminish, much less to-  
tally prevent, the legal punishment due to such in-  
fringement from those to whom the power of such  
punishment is by divine authority committed.

After the lamentable death of this good King  
Constantine, and the short reign of his brother  
Ethus, Gregory the *Great* as he is called, mount-  
ed the throne, a Prince much extolled by all our  
writers, as one of the bravest and best Kings that  
ever the nation had. And indeed if these church-  
men, who cannot endure the least degree of sub-  
jection to the secular powers, shall be offended  
with the seeming encroachment of King Constan-  
tine's laws upon their high claim of total indepen-  
dence, they will be pleased with Gregory's kind-  
ness in "securing their immunities, exempting  
them from paying tribute, keeping watch, or  
going to warfare, and committing the judg-  
ment of matrimonial causes, testaments, and of  
all things depending on simple promise to their  
" de-

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~ " offenders as came under their cognizance."

This is Archbishop Spotswood's account, bor-

rowed from Boece, of the privileges granted by

Gregory to the church. Buchanan speaks of them

in more general terms, tho' at the same time more

in conformity to what is said of him, in an ex-

cerpt from the register of St Andrews produced

by Mr. Innes ; Gregory, he says, provided for the

Crit. Essay " immunities of the ministers of the church, who

p. 302. " under the Picts, had been little better than

" slaves, partly by reviving old laws, partly by

" making new ones." But even Buchanan joins

with the rest in his praises, and tells us " that

" for his valour, justice and temperance, he de-

" servedly obtained the title of the *Great* among

" posterity."

Yet, whatever title he had to these commen-

dations, his right to the crown of the united

kingdoms is not so very clear and indisputable

I do not mean to contend his possession of the

Scottish crown, because we are told that it could

be disposed of by the estates of the realm to any

person whom they should judge most worthy, pro-

vided he was of the Fergusian line, of which

Gregory indeed was. But did such disposal en-

title him to the Pictish crown also, which came

in to the eldest branch of the Fergusian line by

heritage, and to which Prince Alpin, the repre-

sentative of that branch, succeeded as nearest heir

by right of blood ? With this blood Gregory had

no connection : His father Dongallus had indeed

been King of the Scots, before Alpin, but he had

no relation to, nor concern with the Pictish throne

being only a very distant relation to King Acha-

wh

and com- who married the Pictish heirefs. This succession **LETTER**  
 upon such himself acknowledged, was personal right and **XI.**  
 stance." property to Alpin and his posterity. What right  
 ant, bo- therefore had his son to deprive a descendant of  
 anted by Alpin's of this property? Yet this the Great Gre-  
 s of the ry did: He usurped the Pictish crown, from  
 time more Alpin's grandson Ethus, and was the cause of  
 n an ex- s death. For tho' Boece and Buchanan both  
 produced y that Ethus, for his mal-administration, was de-  
 ed for the graded by his nobles, and died in prison, yet our  
 urch, wh- ther two historians Fordun and John Major, as  
 etter than well as the excerpt quoted before, all agree that  
 partly b- e was killed in battle by Gregory, (the excerpt  
 anan join- calls him *Girg Macdongall*) who was disputing  
 us "tha- e crown with him. Whether Ethus had usurp-  
 e, he do- d the right of his elder brother's son, or, as  
 at among as then the practice, acted only as factor or  
 commen- regent for that son, till he was fit to reign in his  
 ne united own person, says nothing at all for Gregory: It  
 disputable as injustice in him to defraud the posterity of  
 on of the e great Kenneth of their maternal inheritance,  
 t it coul- which neither himself nor his ancestors had any  
 lm to an- claim to; and even upon the pretended prin-  
 orthy, pro- ciples of the Scottish government, to wrest the  
 of which management of it out of the hands of the near-  
 sposal en- est heirs, when they were of age capable to ma-  
 ich cam- age it themselves. Upon the whole then, the  
 an line b- lest character that can be given of him, may  
 he repre- e said to be what Buchanan gives of Macbeth  
 earest he- or the first ten years of his government, that  
 gory ha- if he had not used violence in attaining the  
 ad indee- throne, he might have been reckoned equal  
 ut he ha- to the best of the former Kings."  
 ish throne But besides all his other princely virtues, this  
 g Achau- Gregory is commended likewise for his chastity,  
 wh- and Boece more than once applauds him for hav-  
 ing

Scotichron:  
 l. iv. c. 16.  
 Hist. lib. iii.  
 cap. 2.  
 Crit. Essay,  
 p. 801.



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ing lived all his days not only a batchelor, but even "veneris expers," without any commerce with women. . Yet, in a description of the state of the Empire, published in the year 1665 by Louis du May, who seems to have been well acquainted with the genealogy of all the illustrious families in it; we are told of a Louis, Count of Freiberg and Furstemberg, who made a figure in the court of the Emperor Henry the Fowler, that "he was son to Frederic and Agnes Daughter to Gregory, surnamed the Great, King of Scotland, and of him are the present houses of Furstemberg descended." But this is not a small mistake of the kind which our historians in their complimenting strain have fallen into;\* the even this may serve to shew how little we can depend on the characters which are handed down to us, of many of our Scottish Princes.

I am, &amp;c.

\* The late Bishop Keith has discovered a similar mistake in the character of another of our Kings, Malcolm IV. who being of his supposed continency is commonly called "the maiden King" and yet in a charter of donation by this Malcolm, of the church of Innerleithen to the Monks of Kelso, there is this remarkable clause, assigning the reason of the gift, because, he says, "that the corpse of my son was laid here the first night after his death."

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*Rights of the Scottish Churches confirmed in an Assembly at Scoon—Bishop Fotbad expelled from St Andrews by Indulphus—Kellach, Bishop of that See, goes to Rome for the Confirmation of his Title to it—Remarks on the Tyranny of the Romish Church, in imposing such Journeys.*

ON the death of Gregory, Donald the son of A. D. 893.  
Constantine, and grandson of Kenneth, ascended the throne, being recommended by Gregory to the Nobles, says Buchanan in conformity to his principles, but more probably on account of his being the lineal heir, and of a proper age to take the reins of government into his hands. He reigned only eleven years, and was succeeded by his cousin Constantine the son of Ethus: In whose time, we read, in the chronicle I quoted before, of a council or assembly holden at Scoon in the year 906, in which the King Constantine and Kellach the Bishop, with the Scots, "solemnly vowed to observe the laws and discipline of faith, and the rights of the churches and of the gospel, on a little hill near the royal city of Scoon, called from hence, Collis Credulitatis,

A a " the

Crit. Essay;  
p. 588.

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"*the Hill of Faith.*" Mr. Innes supposes it have been called *Knoc-creidimb* in the then gar language, and takes it to have been the same place so famous afterwards by the name of the *Mute-hill* of Scoon. None of our historians mention this council: Only a catalogue of the Bishops of St. Andrews, given by Mr Ruddiman, says in general, that Bishop Kellach held a provincial council under King Constantine III. in the year 906. And even from the short account given of it, we learn that the Scottish churches were then supposed to have rights, and that the King and nobility thought themselves bound to observe and maintain these rights, not as flowing merely from their own good will, but as of standing and antecedent force, as well as the discipline of faith or rights of the gospel. Indeed this Constantine seems to have been a quiet, good man, who after a reign of thirty five years, resigned the kingdom to the lineal heir, Malcolm the son of his predecessor Donald, and past the remaining five years of his life among the Culdees of St. Andrews. This devout turn may be the result of the different characters given him by our two historians, of different notions in these matters Boece and Buchanan. Boece says, he was "a man of a disposition more accommodated to civil and religious matters than to war." Buchanan calls him "a man not so much of a bad disposition, as not constant enough in the which was good."

Some years after his death bring us down to the reign of his son Indulphus, (or in the old Gaelic *Ion-dubb*, or Black John,) who, it is said for some reason or other not mentioned, expelled Bishop Fothad the First from St. Andrews, which

the only circumstance relating to the church in his reign, and that too not well ascertained, that has come to our knowledge. Perhaps the Bishop, from observation of the subsequent inconveniences, had ventured to disapprove of those frequent intrusions of collaterals in prejudice of the right line, now that the example of most of the neighbouring nations began to be in favour of regular succession: Which may have provoked the King, otherwise not a bad man, to take this hitherto unheard of step, and turn out the Bishop who had grumbled at his coming in. However, if the fact be as here supposed, it is the first expulsion of the kind that we read of in our church, and whether just or not, has been copied by similar successors since, and upon similar occasions. But be in this what may, there is a political affair ascribed to this reign, which I cannot well pass over; as, however at first sight it may not appear to be strictly connected with ecclesiastical inquiry, it touches the honour of our nation in another respect. The laborious English antiquary Mr. Camden lighted, it seems, on an old manuscript about the division of Scotland, in Lord Burleigh's library, where he met with this passage; "Indulphus reigned eight years: In his time the city Eden was evacuated, and left to the Scots to this day:" From which he infers that the city of Edinburgh had been all-along in possession of the Anglo-Saxons, and came only under the Scottish dominion so far down as the year 960. This discovery of Camden's was first made use of to the same purpose by Archbishop Usher, and after him by some other English and Irish writers, particularly by Mr. Collier, and by the Bishop of St. Asaph, both of whom make Cam-

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Br. p. 689.

Ush Prim.  
cap 15.  
Hist b. iii.  
p. 198.  
Hist. Acc.  
p. 45.



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XII.Critt. Essay,  
p. 604, 782.

den's Latin, which I have given the literal translation of, to run, that the city of Edinburgh was delivered up by the English at this time, and sooner, to the Scots. On the other hand, our critical enquirer Mr. Innes has favoured the public with a sight of this manuscript out of the Colbertine library, from which we learn that Kenneth Macalpin, a hundred years before this time had six times defeated the Saxons, and burnt Dunbar and Melroß which they had seized. To confirm this account, Mr. Innes brings the testimony of Giraldus Cambrensis, and of the author of the Polychronicon to prove, that Kenneth was master of all the territories from the Firth to the Tweed, from which he concludes that the most that can be made of this famous passage is, "that the town Eden or Edinburgh had been taken from the Scots after Kenneth's time, and was now rendered back to Indulphus." But Mr. Goodall goes deeper to work, that he may overthrow Camden's inference. He will not allow the Eden spoken of to be our Edinburgh, and there is nothing in the passage itself, nor any concurrent authority, to force this interpretation but supposes it to have been some other place perhaps Carlisle upon the river Eden in Cumberland, where our King David the First kept his court about the time that this manuscript might have been written. Or, if it must be our Edinburgh, as the evacuation of it is not attributed to any particular possessors, it might have been either by the Picts, who, we know, were at Bede's time, the proprietors of these parts, and might have kept possession of this strong hold to this day now : Or by the Danes, who were now harassing the country ; and not by the English, who, says

ys, are entirely out of the question. And in-  
 deed this last supposition seems to bid fairest  
 for being the case. As for more than a hundred  
 years before this era, the Danes had been ravag-  
 ing the English territories, especially in the Nor-  
 thern counties, and were so troublesome to the  
 Scots too, that our histories tell us this very King  
 Indulphus lost his life at Cullen in the Boyn, by  
 their hands, after he had driven them out of all  
 the Southern parts of the kingdom. So that  
 upon the whole there is nothing in this passage,  
 were it more authentic than it is, to warrant the  
 construction which these English writers would be  
 putting upon it: And I may be excused, for tak-  
 ing this notice of it; as, weak tho' it be, it has  
 been made use of to support a cause, in which the  
 honour of our national church is concerned, and  
 which will come in course, and with propriety,  
 under consideration afterwards.

About this time we find in the succession of the  
 Bishops of St. Andrews, according to Fordun,  
 Spotswood and Ruddiman, a Kellach II. son of  
 Ferdlag, of whom it is said, that "he was the  
 first who went to Rome for confirmation."  
 This short account of Bishop Kellach, tho' but  
 slightly touched at by our historians, furnishes  
 our Church annals with an article of some im-  
 portance, if not in itself, yet in its consequences;  
 since this man's unprecedented devotion had  
 probably opened a door for the tyrannical preten-  
 sions of the church of Rome in after-times to im-  
 pose upon our Bishops as necessary, what had  
 been begun by one of them out of a voluntary,  
 but mistaken piety. The succeeding ages of our  
 Church are full of these impositions: And while,  
 going thro' the transactions of them, we can-  
 not

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Introduct.  
chap. 12.

LETTER not but lament the miserable oppression which  
 XII. our Bishops, for the most part aged men, so fre-  
 quently endured, in being obliged to take such  
 long, dangerous, and expensive journeys, we may  
 likewise see how watchful the church of Rome  
 has always been to lay hold of the smallest pre-  
 tence to increase her usurped authority, and by  
 what easy and unsuspected steps she gradually rose  
 to that intolerable height of domination, which  
 at last made a revolt from her so absolutely ne-  
 cessary. Our Scottish church had long subsisted  
 without any such visits for confirmation of epis-  
 copal powers, no less than five hundred years, even  
 from the mission of Palladius, to the time of the  
 Bishop Kellach. Yea, the church of Rome her-  
 self had not for a long time thought such a piece  
 of attendance necessary, even from Bishops with  
 whom she might be supposed to have had more  
 immediate concern than with ours. For Bede  
 tells us, that forty years after the mission of  
 Augustin into Britain, the then Pope Honorius  
 sent two palls to the two Metropolitans of Can-  
 terbury and York, with liberty to them to consecrate  
 one another, and in his letters to Edwin, King of  
 the Northumbrians, and to Honorius, Bishop of  
 Canterbury, gives this as his reason for so doing  
 "that he was led to this condescension from the  
 "consideration of the great distance by land and  
 "sea between them, and that no damage or incon-  
 "venience might befall the British church  
 "from such avocations, but that the devotion of  
 "the christian people might be more and more  
 "promoted." This was then thought a valid  
 reason, and it was certainly a standing one. The  
 distances between Britain and Rome were still  
 the same, and the inconveniences (accidental to  
 the journey, which the Pope then was afraid of

Bed. lib. ii.  
 cap. 17. 18.

would

on which would rather increase than be removed, by the LETTER  
 n, so the course of time. He does indeed speak of con- XII.  
 take such a descension, and thereby seems to insinuate that he  
 we must had a right to act otherwise, which is only talking  
 of Rome in a stile then become familiar to the Roman  
 allest pr pontiffs. But the reasons of his condescension are  
 , and the main point to be taken notice of, as he there-  
 ally re declares that the good of the church is pre-  
 on, which erable to any personal right, whether inherent  
 lutely n or assumed. These were the sentiments of the  
 y subsist Roman church in those days; and sentiments too  
 of episc which well become the character she has so long  
 ears, ev taken to herself, of being the mother and mis-  
 me of the tress of all churches. But the Popes in after-  
 Rome he times, who so imperiously summoned the British  
 ch a pie bishops, whenever they pleased, to Rome or  
 shops wi Avignon, or wherever they kept their court, for  
 had mo consecration or confirmation, paid no regard to  
 For Be the spiritual interests of the church, nor to the  
 mission increase of the people's devotion, but buried the  
 Honor tender affection of the mother in the haughty  
 of Came commands of the mistress. It was no wonder  
 consecra therefore that the churches of Britain, having so  
 n, King long groaned under the rigorous exercise of such  
 Bishop power, and for so many years seen their spiri-  
 so dom tal concerns neglected, and their temporal goods  
 a from tasted by their subjection to it, did at last begin  
 y land to enquire into the foundation of a claim which  
 e or inco had been so prejudicial to them: A claim which,  
 church they soon discovered had no original right to  
 devotion support it, and had not been enforced for many  
 and mo years after their respective settlements, but had  
 ht a val only been progressively yielded to, rather thro'  
 one. The misfortunes of the intermediate times, than  
 were st from any strength of its own merits. And this  
 incidental discovery at last produced an event in Britain, by  
 s afraid which the influence of the church of Rome was  
 wou wound-



LETTER XII. wounded in the tenderest part, and which for the reason she cries out so bitterly against to this very day.

Such, we see, have been the consequences of this old Bishop Kellach's jaunt to Rome; consequences, which very probably the man himself did not design, and which perhaps might never have been heard of, if a continued course of ambition on the one side, and of ignorance or timidity on the other, had not paved the way for them. Before this time, what they called pilgrimages to Rome, from the Western parts, had been very customary: And Rome herself had the example. Her devotees had very early begun even in Jerom's time and before it, to flock in pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and the other famous places of what they called the *Holy Land*. There was a mighty stress laid upon these religious journeys, which began to be looked upon as highly meritorious, for promoting the increase of piety, and obtaining pardon of all former offences. Many times they were attended with great inconveniences, and exposed the travellers to many needless risks and spiritual hazards, as appears from a dissertation which Gregory Nyssen wrote on the subject, and on which the Abbé Fleury remarks that, tho' Gregory does not blame such pilgrimages in general, yet from his own personal observation, he found no edification by them, but rather suspected many pernicious consequences from them, "which, says Fleury, has been the opinion of the good and wise in all ages." However the spirit of pilgrimage still kept up, and the infection caught our island in course. But as the holy land was at too great a distance, and had fallen into infidel hands before our people had been much acquainted with other parts

Fleur. hist.  
Ecclef. l. 17.  
§ 49.

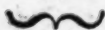
the world, they stopt at Rome, and were made to believe, that to visit and salute the tomb of the great St. Peter the Prince of the Apostles, which while they were always put in mind of, was equally meritorious, and would be as acceptable, as if they paid their devotions at the very places which had been sanctified by the presence of Christ himself. And when such travellers from such a poor, plain, simple church as ours was at that time, beheld the stately pomp and glaring magnificence of the Roman Pontiff, which even then was more like the grandeur of a King, than the primitive simplicity of a Bishop, they would return full of admiration of the fine things they had seen, (as Bede often says was the case with many of his countrymen,) and might think that the countenance and sanction of so great a man as the Pope, would be of mighty service to strengthen their character, and support their authority at home.— The Popes too, we may conclude, would at first, and for some time, be at pains to cherish this notion of their own importance, by any little notice or condescension which they saw would please these strangers, till in end, and by repeated occasions, the long studied scheme was brought to perfection, when we shall find them treating their once brethren Bishops with all the contempt and supercilious arrogance that ever any despotic tyrant shewed to the most abject of his slaves. But I shall no farther anticipate this unpleasant discovery. It will too often give rise to such disagreeable reflections, therefore I shall add no more at present.

I ever am, &c.

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## L E T T E R      X I I I .

*Beornelm, a Scottish Bishop, invited to an English Council, to defend the Marriage of the Clergy—  
Historical Account of the Controversy on that Subject—Reasons against the Celibacy imposed in the Church of Rome.*

**I** Come now to take notice of an affair, which made some noise in the neighbouring church of England; and as one of our Scottish Bishops had a concern in it, falls properly enough under our present consideration. About the middle of the tenth century, one Dunstan, who stands in the English kalendar as a saint, had been taken from the monastic profession, and advanced to the see of Canterbury by the interest of King Edgar, whom Dunstan with his Monks, when Abbot of Glastenbury, had assisted to rob his elder brother Edwy of his dominions, and to mount the throne in his stead.\* Being now at the head

\* This is that Edgar, of whom the English historians tell the ridiculous story, that he obliged eight of his tributary Kings among whom they say Kenneth King of the Scots was one, and

of the head of the English church, and madly attached to monkery, this Dunstan formed a resolution to expel all the secular clergy, who were mostly married men, from their livings, and in- tal his favourite Monks in their rooms. This was a work of great difficulty, and the married clergy defended their right a long time both by argument and prescription, till in end, by the weight of Edgar's authority seconding Dunstan's prosecution, they lost the cause, and were turned out. However, upon Edgar's death they renewed their claim, and had so much interest as to get a council called to meet at Calne in Wiltshire in the year 978, to debate the controversy anew. To this council they invited a Scottish Bishop Beornelm (whom the monkish writer of Dunstan's life calls a man of elocution) to strengthen their party, and plead for them. By the assistance of this Bishop of ours they maintained their ground with great vigour, and overset Dunstan by the force of their reasoning, till the floor of the assembly room, whether by contrivance or accident, falling in, and hurting the most of the company except Dunstan and his party, decided the cause against them, by the alledged interposition of heaven on Dunstan's side. However, the circumstance of our Bishop Beornelm's being sent for to the council, and the part of the controversy

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Coll. Hist.  
b.iii. p.199.

to whom, they further say, Edgar gave all the Lothians for his attendance) to row him in his barge on the river Dee in Cheshire, in token of their subjection to him. But this subjection, as far as our nation is concerned, has been clearly proved to be nothing more than the customary homage which our Kings even then paid to the Kings of England for Cumberland and other lands in the North of England, which these Kings gave to ours for their assistance against the Danes.

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which



**LETTER** which he espoused, sufficiently shew what the sentiments of the Scottish church were on the subject of the marriage of the clergy. And as this subject has long been matter of much raillery and invective on the part of the Romanists against our clergy, it may be proper on this occasion to take a fuller view of it, and to lay before you at once all that needs be said on this, one of the many points in dispute between them and us.

**XIII.** It is not necessary to examine this controverted affair by rules of scripture, tho' one should think, it looks rather favourably towards our side, that God chose his first Priests out of the married class, and continued the succession by the use of that institution. I do not indeed lay much stress upon this, but only wish to put our adversaries in mind of a circumstance which, if it has been as much in their favour as it is in ours, they would not have failed to make use of against us. But the truth is, they do not so much as pretend the authority of scripture for their prohibition; and their canon law itself, as compiled by Gratian, and argued from by one of their great orators in the council of Trent, John à Ludegus, allows that "the marriage of the clergy is neither forbidden by the Mosaic nor Evangelical law, but only by the constitutions of the church, and that if it were not for these restraints, the clergy might lawfully marry." It is therefore on ecclesiastical authority solely that this affair rests. So it will be proper to enquire how things stand upon this foundation.

In the primitive times of persecution we have but little information whether the clergy were married or not. The terrible hardships to which they were then exposed, might be, as the Apostles hint

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 hint

ents, a prudential inhibition against it. Yet even  
 en we read in Polycarp's letter to the Philippi-  
 s of a Presbyter Valens who had a wife. That  
 ertullian, notwithstanding of his austerities, and  
 eming bias another way, was married, is certain  
 om his letters to his wife, in several passages  
 which it appears that he lived with her as such.  
 Cyprian too was married, and lived with his  
 ife after being in holy orders, as we learn from  
 s Deacon Pontius who writes his life, and says  
 him that "neither his poverty nor the persua-  
 sions of his wife could induce him to look after  
 his estate." In the Dioclesian persecution we  
 ad of a Phileas, Bishop of Thimouis in Egypt,  
 hom at his martyrdom the heathen judge soli-  
 ted to recant and save his life; out of pity to his  
 ife and children. The first public notice that  
 ems to have been taken of the clergy's way of  
 ving, is in the provincial council of Eliberis in  
 pain, about the beginning of Constantine's reign,  
 here the twenty seventh canon ordains, "that  
 no Bishop or other clerk shall have a stranger  
 woman in his house, but only a sister or daugh-  
 ter, and them too either virgins or dedicated  
 to God." The thirty third canon appoints that  
 Bishops, Priests and Deacons, and all clergy  
 that are in office shall abstain from their wives  
 under pain of deposition." The nineteenth  
 ears, that "if it be discovered that a Bishop,  
 Priest, or Deacon has committed adultery since  
 his ordination, he shall not receive the com-  
 munion even at the point of death," where  
 e particular mention of adultery seems to im-  
 y that they were married. This council of  
 liberis, Fleury says is the oldest of which we  
 ave any canons of discipline extant. The canons  
 called

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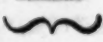
Hist. Eccl.  
l. 9. sect. 15.

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Canon iii.  
or vi. ac-  
cording to  
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called Apostolical, which tho' not so old as their title bears, are allowed to be a collection of the observances of the three first centuries, and as such are received, the first fifty of them at least, by the church of Rome, ordain "Let not a Bishop, Priest, or Deacon put away his wife under pretence of religion: If he does, let him be suspended from communion, and deposed if he persists." Here is a manifest hardship put upon the clergy, and a temptation thrown in their way. By one canon they are forbidden to put away their wives out of their houses, and by another they are commanded to abstain from them, which shews either that both these canons were not of universal use, or that there was some interpretation used to reconcile them to one another.

Thus matters stood as to the married clergy at the time of the great council of Nice, where the third canon forbids Bishops, Priests, or Deacons "to keep any women by way of housekeepers, unless it be a mother, sister, aunt, or other unsuspected person." The historians say, that the council proposed to go further, and to make a law to debar the clergy from the use of marriage altogether, when Paphnutius Bishop of Thebais in Egypt, who had been a confessor in the late persecution, and was an unmarried man, stood up in the midst of the assembly, and strenuously argued against such an intolerable imposition. Upon which the Council followed his advice, and made no new regulation, but left the several churches to the free use of their former customs in this particular. Accordingly the two church-historians Socrates and Sozomen tell us, that in many parts of the Eastern Church, even Bishops have children by their wives after their consecration,

which the annals of these times give us sundry LETTER  
 stances. One of the Bishops of the Council of XIII.  
 Nice, Spyridion, Bishop of Tremethus in Cyprus,   
 was famous for his piety and other episcopal  
 qualifications, had a wife and children. Old Gre- Sozom.  
l. i. cap. II.  
 gory of Nazianzum was a married man, and by  
 chronology seems to have had two sons, the  
 eldest Gregory and Cefarius, after he was made  
 Bishop. Gregory Bishop of Nissa, St. Basil's bro- Naz. carm:  
de vita sua.  
 ther, had a wife Theosebia, and lived with her  
 till her death, as appears by Nazianzen's consol-  
 atory letter to him on that occasion, in which he  
 calls her "the worthy wife and companion of a  
 Bishop." But the case of the philosopher Sy-  
 nsius is particularly remarkable. The church of  
 Ptolemais had made choice of this man for their  
 Bishop, and had applied regularly to Theophilus,  
 Patriarch of Alexandria, for his consent. Syne-  
 sius, alarmed at this proposal, made the following  
 public protestation; "I have a wife, whom I re-  
 ceived from God by the sacred hands of Theo-  
 philus, and I declare that I will neither leave  
 her, nor converse with her in private like an  
 adulterer, for I wish to have virtuous children  
 in great plenty." This declaration shews the  
 difference both of opinions and practices at that  
 time. Yet such was the worthiness of the man's  
 character, that Theophilus and the other Bishops  
 retained him Bishop of Ptolemais, in which office  
 he behaved himself with the strictest decorum,  
 and was famous for the regularity both of his  
 public discipline, and private conversation.  
 In this state of liberty allowed by the coun-  
 cil of Nice, the Eastern church continued till  
 the year 692, when the council in Trullo, as it  
 is called, established that rule which has served  
 the



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XIII.Hist. Eccl.  
l. xviii.  
sect. 34.

the Greek and Eastern churches ever since, allowing the marriage of the inferior clergy before, but prohibiting it after, ordination. In the West the usage was for some time pretty much the same, as may be gathered both from Ambrose and Jerom. In the year 385 Pope Siricius published an ordinance (the first, says Fleury, that has come down to us under the title of Decretals) forbidding the clergy to marry after ordination, or to use the marriage contracted before. This prohibition was renewed some few years after by Innocent I. but with this provision, "that such as had not heard of the decree of Pope Siricius should be excused for their ignorance, if they abstained for the future." Which shews that it was only the force of the late decree that was binding on them: For celibacy had been long settled in the church even by ecclesiastic authority, and become the standing discipline, none could have pleaded or desired pardon for their ignorance. However, notwithstanding of these new decretals, liberties were still used in various remote parts of the West a long time: And tho' the monastic orders, as they came in, did what they could to bring odium upon the secular clergy, as they began then to be distinguished, and to disparage both their character and function on the score of marriage, wherever they met with that handle, yet the married clergy stood their ground long, as we see from this very instance in our own island. For notwithstanding of the keenness and severity of Dunstan and his monkish successors in the see of Canterbury, it cost many a synod at home, and many a thundering order from Rome, to bring things to the state they were in at the reformation.

Since, however, about a hundred years after Dunstan's time, Pope Gregory VII. well known by the name of Hildebrand, published a decree that the clergy who lived in concubinage or incontinence for so he calls marriage, to fix the greater odium on it) should not be capable to perform any part of the sacred function, and immediately sent his decree into Germany. On which the clergy there took the alarm, crying out against it as a manifest heresy, contrary to scripture and primitive practice, and threatening to leave their offices rather than be deprived the company of their wives. The Pope's two agents, Sigfroy Archbishop of Mentz, and Altman Bishop of Passau, thought to have brought the clergy into compliance: But their attempts were to no purpose, and themselves had well nigh been torn to pieces for proposing it. The Pope on this wrote letter after letter to the several Bishops of these parts, proving from no other authority than the commands of some of his own predecessors, that the clergy ought to live without marriage: And in a letter to all the laity of Germany in general, he exhorts them by all means to hinder the married clergy from serving at the altar, and even to use force against them if need be, which at the same time he owns as a new method, to enforce the observation of the canons by the help of the secular arm. However the clergy kept their wives still, and when Sigfroy of Mentz, who was otherwise a resolute man, made another attempt against them, he met with so much opposition, that he gave up the business, and resolved never to meddle more in it, but leave the prosecution of it to the Pope's own power.

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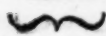
In England, Lanfranc of Canterbury pushed the

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Pope's

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Pope's orders against the marriage of the clergy with great vigour, in a synod at Winchester, and did Anselm after him in a synod at London. And yet after all, Pope Paschal II. found it necessary to allow this very Anselm to ordain the sons of Priests, because, as the Pope's dispensation expressly bears, "*major pene et melior clericorum pars in hac specie censetur,*" the greater and more valuable part of the clergy were of this class. Which shews the prevalency of the custom even then, in spite of all the assaults it had sustained, and likewise proves that these sons had been born to their fathers when in orders, otherwise they needed no dispensation. Nor was this practice peculiar to the Southern parts of our island. Mr. Goodall, in his preface to Bishop Keith's catalogue, has made it clear from unquestionable authorities, that our Culdees married as they pleased, and had revenues and possessions in property, which after their deaths went to their wives and children: And tho' this part of their character may be laid hold of to shew that they differed from the then church, and so were not of prelatical principles, yet it is certain that the married clergy in other places many times took the same liberty of transmitting even their revenues to their children, as appears from the histories of these times, and from the many monkish complaints, and repeated decrees of synods against it. However the grievous hardships which the clergy suffered on account of marriage, and the continued ordinances of the Popes, who never lost sight of a favourite project when once started, prevailed so far at last, that the clergy were obliged to yield, and either chose or were constrained to live single, as all the Romish clergy do at this day.

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After this historical detail of the fact, let us LETTER XIII.  
 now reason a little upon the point. It must surely be acknowledged that both the partial kind of liberty indulged to the Eastern church, and the total inhibition forced at last upon the Western, were a deviation from the moderation and regard for peace that was observed by the council of Nice, which made no universal law about this affair, because, as Fleury justly remarks, "in those days they did not make canons to introduce new practices at the risk of being ill-observed, but only to confirm the antient usages of Apostolic tradition." And indeed this new introduction was long and heavily complained of, not only by many good and great men at the time, who made no use of marriage themselves, but even by sundry popish writers since the establishment of the present celibacy in that church, who wish the Popes had not been so violent and peremptory in it. No doubt the patrons of it can produce many specious enough arguments in its vindication. The worldly concern and anxiety incident to the married state is a strong prudential motive to keep out of it: But it is not peculiar to the clergy.—The laity run the same risk, and are exposed to the same inconvenience. If marriage be lawful to all, as an Apostle seems to think, and the Romanists have not denied, it might have been left open to all: And people's own prudence and inclination would have directed them, whether of clergy or laity, as to the expediency of going in to it or not. But where the Romanists cry out so much about the cares of a family, and so highly extol the disinterestedness of an unmarried state, to defend the celibacy of the clergy, the argument, however specious, is neither founded in reason,

Fleury. hist.  
 Eccles. l. ii.  
 § 17.



LETTER son, nor consonant even to their own experience.

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inward disposition, more than on external circumstances: And numberless instances can be produced of hospitable, beneficent men in all conditions, who have wives and families, and of sordid misers who have none. It is urged that a clergyman, out of the church-goods allotted to him, ought to provide for, and be charitable to the poor who are Christ's members: But to this, say they, his having a family of his own, is and will be a very great hindrance. And may it not be answered, that it is as great a virtue, if there be any virtue in these things, to raise up a new race of members to Christ, under a prospect of such provision as to take care of those already existent, and who may be otherwise provided for? But the truth is, that while human nature continues what we see it, a clergyman who has it in his power, will according to the bent of his disposition, lay up for his friends and relations, if he has any, and will be inclined to look upon them in the same light as if they were his own children. And for proof of this we may appeal to the church of Rome herself. The Popes nephews, as they are called, are always handsomely provided for, and many a poor man has come to be a Prince, by his connection with an unmarried churchman. Not only so, but fathers of children, by the Roman constitution, may be and have been Popes. Witness Alexander VI. and his Borgias. Could he have done more for his children than he did, or been more interested in taking care of them, had they been born to him during his Popedom?

This then at best is but a foolish and unwarranted plea: And therefore the Romanists build

more

more on the virtue of continence, and the merit-  
 of a state of celibacy. Hence come  
 all their sneers and contemptuous language thrown  
 out against marriage in general, which amount to  
 little less than blaspheming a divine institution,  
 and are surely very inconsistent with their own sa-  
 cramental definition of it, as it undoubtedly has  
 a strange appearance to deny the clergy the use  
 of any thing which they believe to be a sacra-  
 ment, and in so far a mean of conveying grace.  
 Besides, if the continence which they prescribe  
 be such a valuable virtue, were it not better that  
 it should be voluntary and of free choice, not im-  
 posed by force and terror upon the inclination,  
 which certainly tends to lessen the merit of it.—  
 Upon the whole, the conduct of the Nicene fa-  
 thers is highly commendable and worthy of imi-  
 tation, to leave every national or separate church  
 to her own liberty in this matter, and at freedom  
 to regulate such practices as the divine law has  
 not restrained, in a way most conducive to piety  
 and edification. This, we have seen, was the rule  
 observed in the primitive times, when clergymen  
 married or not, as they saw expedient, either for  
 private safety or public benefit. The church of  
 Rome may have reasons for her practice, and  
 other churches may have equally as good reasons  
 for theirs. There may be inconveniencies in a  
 married state, and there may be temptations in  
 celibacy. And no human injunctions can remove  
 the one, or guard against the other. I know the  
 Romanists will evade every argument on our side  
 either from reason or fact, by flying to the pa-  
 ramount authority of the church, and telling us  
 that, after the Pope's positive decision, all former  
 real or supposed liberties are at an end. But this  
 is

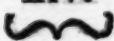
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is shifting the cause, and flying off to another field of debate. We deny this prerogative, and appeal to the general determination of the council of Nice, which, we say, is of universal extent, and applicable to the present case, "Let the antient customs continue:" Not such customs of any kind as the Romish church has in latter times brought in, by her usurped dominion, and would be passing upon the world for antient, but such customs as were antient at that time, by having been in use from the beginning. On this definition of antiquity we rest our plea, and think it neither necessary nor becoming to be throwing back, as we well could, upon the pretended continence of the Romish clergy, the indecent scottish which they throw out against the avowed marriage of ours. Whether those first reformers who had been bound down by the then customary vows of chastity, as it is impertinently called, were culpable or not, in breaking these bonds and claiming the original liberties of mankind, is another question, which comes not under our present consideration: Tho' if it did, we cannot think the cause of the reformation in any danger from it, as long as we have the confession of the Romanists themselves, when put in mind of the scandalous lives of so many of their Popes, that the private faults of the man do not hurt his public character, nor affect either the soundness of his doctrine, or authority of his decisions, if otherwise good and agreeable to the proper standard.

I am, &amp;c.

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## L E T T E R XIV,

*Change of the regal Succession by Kenneth III. and Murder of his Nephew Malcolm——His Repentance and Application to the Bishops and Clergy——Accession of Malcolm II. who founded an Episcopal See at Mortlich, afterwards removed to Aberdeen——Reflections on his Bounty to the Church, and that of his great Grandson Malcolm III.——Character of that King, and of his Queen St. Margaret.*

TOWARDS the close of the tenth century, the annals of our nation present us with the unhappy affair of King Kenneth the III. having had a hand, as is said, in the death of his nephew Malcolm, who was son to his elder brother, the good King Duffus, and consequently heir of the crown. It was this Kenneth who got the order of the regal succession, changed from the confused way in which it had gone for so many years, and been productive of so many intestine commotions, and brought to that regular and hereditary form of going directly to the nearest heir, which continued ever after. To make room



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room for the succession of his own son Malcolm, according to this new regulation, he procured the other Malcolm, who had the better title, to be poisoned. Being otherwise a good man, as well as a great King, this seems at least to have born heavy on his conscience, and led him to apply to the Bishops and clergy for their ghostly advice and assistance. And here in Boethian's narration of this affair, we have a sample of that regard to the sacred character which he was ready to display on all occasions. "The King did not (he says,) prescribe to him the true remedy from the doctrine of Christ, for they had already fallen off from the piety and learning of the ancients, but enjoined him these stupid notions of visiting such and such holy places, kissing relicts, and the like." Now, granting that the clergy had ordered these outward performances by way of penance, which, by the by, were equally as proper marks of obedience and discipline, as standing in a white sheet, or being mounted on a scaffold in a kirk, how did Boethian know that they had neglected to put him in mind of the true remedy? His author Boece had given him no handle for this malicious aspersions: He says, "the Bishop Moveanus advised the King to repent of his crime, teaching him that, if he continued in repentance, he should find the wrath of God appeased. That God was provoked by the sins of men, but would be inclined to mercy by repentance and works of piety. By which advice the King, being encouraged, began to repent, to visit holy places, to relieve the poor, to honour the clergy, and in a word omitted nothing that could be thought worthy of a pious and true

Buch. hist.  
lib. vi. in  
reg. 80.

ly christian King :” this is Boece’s account of LETTER  
 the clergy’s behaviour on this trying occasion, XIV.  
 and Buchanan had it before him. Was it fair in  
 then not only to conceal the advice of Bishop *Hist. lib. xi.*  
 Mowbray, than which I question if even the  
 general assembly where Mr. George sat Modera-  
 tor could have given a better, but likewise roundly  
 affirm that they took no notice of repentance at  
 all, and only recommended these external marks  
 of devotion, which from the account that Boece  
 gives of it, the penitent King appears to have  
 added of his own head, and as voluntary proofs  
 of his obedience. Archbishop Spotswood makes *Hist. b. ii.*  
 the same observation, that the King did “ not *p. 27.*  
 think by these outward deeds to make expia-  
 tion for his sin, as notwithstanding of the su-  
 perstitions that were then beginning to creep  
 into the church, people were still taught that  
 Christ is the only propitiation for sin, and that  
 by his blood only the guilt of it is washed  
 away.” If it shall be said, as I doubt not  
 it will, that the Archbishop may be suspect-  
 ed of partiality in the clergy’s favour, it will be  
 acknowledged, I hope, that Buchanan’s testimony  
 is fully as suspicious on the other side : With this  
 inference, that Buchanan bespatters them without  
 any authority for so doing, and the Bishop’s vindic-  
 tion of them seems at least to have Boece for his  
 warrant.

Yet this same Buchanan is sometimes obliged  
 to speak well of the clergy even of those days,  
 at least can find nothing from whence to in-  
 dulge his humour of speaking ill of them. For  
 within a few years after Kenneth’s death, who  
 was treacherously murdered at Fettercairn, when *A. D. 994.*  
 was a Prince of the royal blood was, not-

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withstanding of the late regulation, contending with Kenneth's son Malcolm for the crown, Buchanan tells us, after Boece and the other historians that Bishop Fothad laboured incessantly between them, and at last by his intercession got a peace concluded upon conditions. This was certainly a good work, and worthy of a christian Bishop. Does Buchanan commend him for it? No: All he says of him is, that "he was a man of great authority among the people, because of the opinion of his sanctity," and leaves it to his reader, from what he had said of the Bishops before, to infer what it was that this opinion was founded upon. He had nothing in this procedure of Fothad's to blame him for, but he takes care to lower his character as much as he well could. He would not say of him what Boece had said, and in no despicable Latin too, that he was "maximus Scotorum Episcopus, vir summa virtute præditus et clementia," the chief Bishop of the Scots, and a man of consummate virtue and peaceableness, but ascribes all his authority among the people to their opinion of his sanctity, an opinion founded, as he would insinuate, on that attachment to superstitious trifles, which he had charged upon all the Bishops in the affair of Kenneth. I cannot avoid taking notice, as I go along, of these artful strokes of Buchanan, if it were only to shew, what some people will hardly bear to be told, that he is neither in his assertions infallible, nor in his descriptions of some men and things quite beyond suspicion.

About ten or twelve years after Kenneth's death and in terms of the agreement with Grimus, his son Malcolm, the second of the name, ascended the throne. And this accession opens up to

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kind of new scene, both in the settlement of LETTER  
the state, and in the concerns of the church.— XIV.  
Hitherto the civil constitution had assumed a pe-  
culiar sort of form, unheard of in any neighbour-  
ing nation, as being neither properly elective, nor  
strictly hereditary. How this form had been in-  
troduced among the Scots at first, is not easy to  
be discovered, and writers have differed very much  
about it, according to their different notions and  
principles of government. Some attribute it to  
the decision of the states, and cry it up as a most  
excellent and equitable plan, tho' they do not  
tell us who or what formed these states, and au-  
thorised their decisions. Others are of opinion,  
that the succession of collaterals had been only  
designed to take place while the lineal heir was  
under age, or otherwise incapable to govern, and  
were inclined to look upon every other case as no  
better than usurpation. This difference of senti-  
ment gives little satisfaction as to the reason of  
the thing, and leaves us under the necessity of  
making the fact in general, without being able to  
argue upon it one way or other. Only this much  
may warrantably enough be said, that, after the  
long experience of what disorders and broils the  
old form had occasioned, it was no wonder that  
a wise and judicious prince should both wish and  
endeavour to have these inconveniences removed,  
by settling the succession upon a more permanent  
and incontestible basis. And it is indeed matter  
worthy of observation, that amidst all the confu-  
sions incident to the old form, from the ambi-  
tion of collaterals and cabals of their adherents,  
the succession should still have been preserved in  
the eldest line of Fergus MacErch, whom our  
historians call Fergus II. thro' so many hundred  
years,

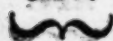


LETTER years, down to this Malcolm, who after his  
 XIV. fin's death, whether by nature or violence, was  
 the undoubted representative of that elder  
 branch, and the lineal heir of the Scottish  
 crown. How far this alteration made by his fa-  
 ther, and begun in his person, was preferable to  
 the former wandering and uncertain scheme  
 may be seen now, tho' the argument could not  
 hold then, from comparing the state of things  
 since with what it was before their time, and  
 placing the order and uniformity of the one pe-  
 riod over against the confusion and irregularity of  
 the other.

But, besides this visible change, which certainly  
 was to the better, on the face of our state-affairs  
 we begin now to perceive a change gradually  
 arising in the outward constitution of our church,  
 but whether to the better or worse, I shall not  
 take upon me to say; let consequences deter-  
 mine. Before this time, we have heard of no  
 Bishop among us possessed of lands and heritages,  
 but the Bishop of St. Andrews, as coming in  
 the place of the old Pictish Bishop of Abernethy.  
 And it is no doubt on this account that we have  
 been so often told, that before this period, the  
 kingdom was not divided into what are now  
 called Dioceses. But in this reign, a provision  
 was begun for that purpose, which under suc-  
 ceeding Kings was continued and increased, till  
 at last and by degrees that distribution was com-  
 pleted, under which, with a few interruptions,  
 our church subsisted in a diocesan form to the  
 abolition of established Episcopacy, and setting  
 up of Presbytery in the end of the last century.  
 This Malcolm II. was a brave and magnanimous  
 Prince, and fought many battles with the Danes  
 with

with various success, till at last by the blessing of **LETTER**  
 heaven he gave them a total and final overthrow **XIV.**  
 at a place called Murthilack, now Mortlich, near  
 the banks of the river Spey. In acknowledgement  
 of which deliverance, he founded, in the  
 year 1010, a Bishop's seat at this place, and en-  
 dued it with the lands of Murthilac, Cloveth and  
 Dunmeth. The first Bishop of this new erection,  
 by the civil authority, was Beanus or Beyn, who  
 at the King's desire, says my author, was pro-  
 moted to this honour by Pope Benedict VIII. Scotichron.  
l. iv. c. 44.  
 and had all the country between Dee and Spey  
 allotted to him for his diocese. This is the se-  
 cond erection of the kind, next to St. Andrews,  
 which we have account of in our Scottish history.  
 But we are not to suppose that the other parts of  
 the kingdom had no Bishops among them, or  
 that these other Bishops had not particular portions  
 of the country assigned them, on which to bestow  
 their immediate labours. Bishop Beyne's Epis-  
 copal jurisdiction would be confined between Dee  
 and Spey: What should become of the christian  
 people on the other sides of these two rivers? The  
 silence of history as to such particulars is no more  
 an argument for the promiscuous government of  
 Bishops, than it is for the promiscuous ministra-  
 tion of the inferior clergy—Yet we are told that  
 the clergy did not officiate promiscuously: One  
 of the laws made by Constantine, son of Kenneth  
 Macalpin, orders the clergy to reside upon their  
 charges: Consequently they had charges to reside  
 upon. And is it not presumable that this regula-  
 tion expressed in such general terms, included the  
 Bishops as well as the inferior clergy? So that  
 what King Malcolm did at this time was not so  
 much an alteration of, or incroachment upon the  
 old

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old plan, as a devout donation of a settled living in perpetuity to the Bishop who had the charge of these bounds, and to testify his thankfulness for the victory at Mortlich, by thus dedicating the lands about it to sacred uses.

It was this Malcolm who, according to all our histories and records, first gave away his lands to the nobility, in heritage to them and theirs forever. An act of generosity, no doubt, or gratitude, call it which you will: But an act at the same time which he lived long enough to repent of, as the exigencies of his government soon laid him under the necessity of seizing again some of these lands by methods which historians say, were none of the most justifiable: On which Fordun makes this short, but judicious reflection, "*In conspectu fati fit illa donatio quam necessitas sequitur donorum repetitio,*" it is certainly a rash and ill-judged donation which needs to be so soon recalled. Now if he was the first who gave lands to the laity, as is generally believed, it is not to be thought that the church had been universally enriched with such gifts before, otherwise we should have heard of it either from the murmurings of the nobles, or the pen of the historian. But except what we have been told of the liberality of Kenneth Macalpin and his successors to the see of St. Andrews, which is related in very general terms, we know little of the outward state of the church in other parts of the kingdom. Whereas from this present period downward we meet with charters and deeds of gift from Kings and Nobles to Bishops and Abbots, cathedral churches and monasteries, distinctly expressed and carefully preserved thro' a course of succeeding generations. And this so visible diff

rem

ence may be accounted for, I think, from the following consideration; and indeed can be well accounted for no other way.

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All the intelligence we have of these matters is either from our oldest historians, such as Fordun, Winton, Bowmaker, &c. or from such of the chartularies of monasteries as escaped the ravages of Edward Longshanks, and the fury of the Reformation. Now, as Mr Innes observes, the most of these chartularies were writs of foundation, donation, or other conveyances of the temporal possessions and lands of the churches and abbeys, which indeed was all the design of them; for in other respects they give very little light into the real affairs of the church: and the monkish writers of those times were mostly taken up with these temporal concerns likewise. So that after such donations had been begun and carried on from time to time, we meet with a connection of church history, such as it is, in a chronological series, and a regular detail of such events as principally engrossed the writers attention. Whereas before that time they had little to say; not indeed for want of matter in general, but of such matter as they thought most worth the while of remembering and handing down to posterity. Hence may have arisen the opinion which has so much prevailed, that till the time of Malcolm II. there were no distinct dioceses in Scotland; as if no episcopal charge deserved the name of a diocese, unless it had lands and temporal endowments conferred upon it. And after this period, what is our church-history but a continued repetition of secular bustle and contention among Kings, Popes, and Bishops about lands and rights and privileges of that kind, carried on with all the zeal and ear-



LETTER earnestness that would have become a better cause.  
 XIV. Little or nothing is to be met with, about the promotion of true piety, about faith or doctrine, or any of these old primitive concerns which were for a long time called the essentials of religion.— Yet this defect in our ecclesiastical history was not peculiar to our church: It was the general characteristic of the times. These were, as they are called, ages of darkness and ignorance, owing, no doubt, to some new cause which preceeding ages had not been acquainted with, and which perhaps might be found, if impartially sought after, in the worldly incumbrances of lands and tenements begun to be laid upon our church at this time.

A.D. 1034. This great King and benefactor to the church Malcolm II. was at last murdered by a gang of conspirators at Glamis, and succeeded by his grandson Duncan, in whose short reign we meet with no particular account of church-matters.— He was traitorously slain by his cousin Macbeth who usurped the crown, and kept possession of it seventeen years. In the chartulary of St. Andrews we find “a gift by Macbeth son of Findlay and Gruoch daughter of Bodhe, King and Queen of the Scots, of Kirkeness with all its pertinents, to the Keledees of Lochlevin, for the benefit of their prayers.” The bloody tyrant could be charitable or liberal out of the spoils of usurpation, and he stands on record in the number of royal benefactors upon this account. Might it not be asked, if it was right in these holy men to have accepted any donation from such a hand; and might not the rightful Sovereign have revoked it without falling under the common imputation of sacrilege? At last Macbeth was de-  
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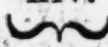
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ated in battle, and killed in his flight by Mac-  
Thane of Fife, and the true heir Malcolm  
I. called *Canmore*, restored to the possession of  
his father's throne.

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This King largely improved upon the example  
by his great grand-father Malcolm II. of mu-  
ficence to the church, and further enlarged the  
ocefan form by the endowing of two new  
shopricks, those of Moray and Caithness, and  
restoring the two old ones of Glasgow, and  
Whitehern which he ordered to be called Gal-  
way. The first of these two, the bishopric of  
Glasgow, as we have already seen, had been  
formed five hundred years before this, by Kenti-  
ern or St. Mungo, but it seems had been so mi-  
rably over-run or neglected, that we have no ac-  
counts who were Bishops in it from St. Mungo till  
his time. Only Mr. Collier tells us from Stubbs,  
that in Edward the Confessor's time, and some  
years before Malcolm Canmore's restoration, Kin-  
as Archbishop of York ordained one Magfues  
st, and then a John, to be Bishop of Glasgow,  
and received an acknowledgement of his metro-  
political right from them in writing: Which in-  
strument was lost, he says, along with other records  
on after the conquest, when York was stormed  
and set on fire by the Normans. The other see of  
Whitehern had been begun by St. Ninian, and  
the intermediate vicissitudes of Pictish, Saxon,  
and Scottish possessors, had undergone the same  
desolation that Glasgow had suffered. Yet in this  
long tract of time we are not to conclude that  
Christianity had been extinguished, or even the  
original plan of Episcopacy laid aside, tho' we  
have no account of the particular Bishops that  
governed, any more than of the particular presby-

Coll. Hist.  
b.iii. p.231.

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ters or pastors who preached in these parts. But now that these divisions or districts were continued by this truly devout and religious King, we shall find them, in after times, in a flourishing condition, and their Bishops making a figure in our church-annals. And yet, which is not a little surprising, so lame and inaccurate are the annals, that they do not tell us who were the first Bishops of these new erections, nor indeed anything further about them than the bare erection of them, till some years after this King's death, that we meet with the names of the Bishops of those sees, as witnesses to some charters of his son Alexander and David. How to account for this I know not. It is not rare to find an establishment vacant for a number of years: But that an endowment should stand so long unprovided, and under such a religious King too, is somewhat surprising. Perhaps the former prelates who had the oversight of these parts, before this royal interposition, might have gone on as long as they lived, in their old paths of ecclesiastical simplicity, and retirement from worldly business, and might not have been known to, or taken notice of by the monkish annalists, who sought to record nothing but what concerned their temporal interests. For, as I said before, it can hardly be supposed that such a Prince as this Malcolm would have left these districts without Bishops, or that history would not have given us the names of the first Bishops of them, if there had been new ones put into them; as we see was the case with Morlich so many years before, which on its first endowment was filled with a Beanus or Beyn.

This good King built anew the cathedral church of Durham in England; the King himself, with

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William the Bishop and Turgot the Prior, lay-  
 ing the first stone. Which is an indication that  
 these Northern counties did then belong to our  
 Kings. He built likewise the Abbey church of  
 Dunfermline; and at last, after a reign of thirty  
 years, was treacherously killed at the siege of  
 Dunwick in Northumberland, together with his  
 eldest son Edward. He was a most excellent man,  
 both as a King and a christian, and was parti-  
 cularly happy in his marriage with St. Margaret,  
 she is deservedly called, who, next to her bro-  
 ther Edgar Atheling, was the true heir of the  
 Saxon royal line, and in private life was a wo-  
 man almost beyond description. Their lives were  
 written soon after their death by Turgot, after-  
 wards Bishop of St. Andrews, and will stand up-  
 on record, as an ornament to our nation, and  
 an example to crowned heads in all ages.\*

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Scotichron.  
 l. v. c. 25.  
 A.D. 1093.

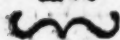
I am, &c.

\* The public character and private virtues of Queen Marga-  
 are well described by Sir David Dalrymple (Lord Hailes)  
 in his Annals of Scotland; who concludes his account of her,  
 taken from Turgot, in these words:—"By a tedious and  
 painful indisposition, endured with exemplary patience, she  
 was brought very low. During a short interval of ease, she  
 devoutly received the communion. Soon after, her anguish  
 of body returned with redoubled violence. She stretched her-  
 self on her couch, and calmly waited for the moment of her  
 dissolution. Cold, and in the agonies of death, she ceased  
 not to put up her supplications to heaven. These were some  
 of her words:—"Have mercy upon me, O God: accord-  
 ing to the multitude of thy tender mercies, blot out my ini-  
 quities. Make me to hear of joy and gladness, that the bones  
 which thou hast broken may rejoice. Cast me not away from  
 thy presence, and take not thy holy Spirit from me: Restore  
 unto me the joy of thy salvation. The sacrifices of God are  
 a broken spirit: A broken and a contrite spirit, O God, thou

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## L E T T E R    X V.

*Accession of King Edgar—His Donation of Colchester Abbey to the Benedictines—Account of that, and other Monastic Orders—Remarks on the various kinds of Monasteries and Monks—Account of the Croisades.*

A.D. 1097.

**M**ALCOLM CANMORE was succeeded, after a few years of interruption, by his eldest surviving son Edgar, who, it is said, was anointed by Godricus Bishop of St. Andrew

“ wilt not despise. Do good, in thy good pleasure, unto Zion  
 “ build thou the walls of Jerusalem.—At that moment, his  
 “ son Edgar, returning from the army, approached her couch  
 “ How fares it with the King, and my Edward? The young  
 “ stood silent. I know all, cried she, I know all: By this holy  
 “ ly cross, by your filial affection, I adjure you, tell me the  
 “ truth. He answered—Your husband, and your son, are both  
 “ slain. Lifting her eyes and her hands towards heaven, she  
 “ said—Praise and blessing be to thee, Almighty God, that  
 “ thou hast been pleased to make me endure so bitter anguish  
 “ in the hour of my departure, thereby, as I trust, to purify me  
 “ in some measure from the corruption of my sins: And thou  
 “ Lord Jesus Christ, who thro’ the will of the Father, hast en-  
 “ livened the world by thy death, oh deliver me—While pro-  
 “ nouncing *deliver me*, she expired.”

and was the first of our Kings who had that LETTER XV.  
 ceremony performed upon him after the manner  
 of other christian Princes. He gave the Abbey  
 of Coldingham, where there had been for many  
 years a sanctuary for virgins, to Ranulphus,  
 Bishop of Durham, but upon the ungrateful be-  
 haviour of that Prelate, whom even the English  
 writers represent as infamous for luxury and cor-  
 ruption, he recalled his gift, and erected it into  
 a priory of Benedictines. These were an order  
 of Monks begun by one Benedict or Bennet,  
 who was born at Nursi in Italy about the year  
 580, and was the first who brought the monastic  
 life to be esteemed in the west: and this erection  
 of Edgar's seems to be the first introduction of  
 what is properly to be reckoned the Monastic  
 state, under particular rules and denominations,  
 into Scotland. Before this we read indeed of  
 Monks and monasteries among us, and may be  
 led, without farther examination, to suppose that  
 they were of the same nature with what goes un-  
 der that designation in the Popish Church at this  
 day. But this is a mistake. These old monas-  
 teries which we hear so much of, in the early  
 periods of our church history, could be no other  
 than separate societies of clergymen residing to-  
 gether where they best could, under some one by  
 way of Superior, whether we shall call him Bishop  
 or Abbot, and, at the command of that Superior,  
 ready to perform their clerical functions in any  
 place of the neighbourhood where he should see  
 proper to employ them.

The first attempt towards what is now called  
 Monachism was in the East, particularly in Egypt  
 and Syria, in the time of the Decian persecution,  
 but especially under that long and grievous scene  
 of

**LETTER** of cruelty carried on against the christians in those  
**XV.** countries, by the last of the heathen tyrants, Maximin Daia. From thence it was brought over into Europe by Athanasius, who recommended it at Rome, and by his wonderful accounts of Anthony, and the other Egyptian Monks of his acquaintance, raised an esteem for that state of retirement in the West. But these Monks were not Presbyters, as our old Culdees are said to have been: They were mere Laymen, and so were all the Monks of those times. The first who brought Monks into holy orders in Europe, was Eusebius, Bishop of Vercelles, in the time of the Emperor Constantius. After him St. Martin introduced the practice into France, where upon his being made Bishop of Tours in Bretagne, he founded a monastery of this sort about two miles from that city. From this plantation of St. Martin in France, and in imitation of that pattern, it is probable that this kind of Monastery was first introduced into our island. For Bede tells, us that when Augustin came to Britain, he found an old church standing, which had been dedicated to St. Martin while the Romans were masters of the country. Among the Southern Picts there was a Monastery of St. Martin's at Whitehern, founded by St. Ninian, who, we are told, had seen Martin, and lived some time with him on his journey to Rome. That Columba's Monastery of Hy among the Scots was after this model may be supposed from what his biographer tells us, that among the Sunday offices in that Monastery there used to be a prayer in commemoration of St. Martin, which probably has been in memory of him as Founder of their order. And in Marianus Scotus we read, that as far down as the

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year 975 the Scottish Monks at Cologne in Ger- LETTER  
many regarded St. Martin as the patron of their XV.  
Monastery.

From all this we may easily infer what sort of Monks and Monasteries it was, that first prevailed in our country, and out of which, even Buchanan says, the Bishops were chosen. They were neither like the early Monks who fled from persecution to the desarts, and lived in caves or earthen huts on the labour of their hands: Nor yet of the same character with the latter classes under that title, which made such a noise among us in after times. They were what I have all along called them, societies of and for the clerical profession; or, as the Bishop of St. Asaph describes them, "These Monasteries were the Hist. Anc.  
c.vii.p.169.  
schools and universities of those times, wherein men were bred up to religion and learning," of which he gives a number of instances. These clergy were astricted to no particular rules, but the common rules of their profession, and went by no particular denomination. The title of Monks seems to have been given them only by the writers of after times, such as Fordun and others, more out of compliment to their own character, than in conformity to the strict propriety of speech. The distinction of Presbyters and Monks used by Fordun, Major, and the rest, but a late invention of their own coining, and has no foundation in the general history of the primitive church, or in any certain records of our own country. The Presbyters and Monks of these days were the same, and went by the general name of clergy, without any other mark of difference. Accordingly we read of no disputes or contentions among them about rights or



LETTER or privileges, no claims to greater degrees of

XV. sanctity, or peculiar honour of precedence.

Whereas, after the various upstart tribes of later Monks swarmed in among us, under the new titles of Benedictines, Carthusians, Dominicans, Franciscans, and a vast number more, with their different habits of different colours, black, grey, and white, our church histories are pestered with their disputes and debates among themselves, and with suits carried on by them against the Bishops, sometimes before the Popes, sometimes in the King's courts, about lands and tythes and exemptions, and many more such uncharacteristic claims as the primitive ages had never heard of.

At last, these foreign tribes of *Religious*, as they called themselves, assumed the specious title of *Regulars*, from their particular observance of such and such distinguishing peculiarities in living and dress, as had been forged in the brain of some morose or discontented devotee, and confirmed for their own ends, by succeeding Popes, as the *Rule* of such and such a Founder. And the clergy, who still adhered to, and depended upon their respective Bishops, began to be called *Seculars*, by way of contempt, from their being, though in execution of their office, connected in some measure with the *Seculum*, the world, and thereby engaged in secular business. As if a class of men who, being both dedicated to and installed in the sacred function, looked upon themselves as bound by, and endeavoured to walk up to the rules of Christ and his Apostles, had not as good a title to be called *Regulars*, if there be any honour in that title, as they had, who professed only a scrupulous attachment to the insignificant

whims of a turbulent Dominic, or a capricious Francis. LETTER  
XV.

It is from the first appearance therefore of these successive clusters of new Monks, that we begin to meet with the distinction of regulars and seculars, with such a weight of preference in favour of the former, that a lay-brother of some eminent house, with nothing to recommend him but the favourite cord or cowl of his order, would meet with more esteem, and be more revered for sanctity, than the ablest and most laborious priest among the seculars or parochial clergy.— Such was the devotion, or rather superstition of the Monkish ages; and so many new orders, or refinements on the old ones, were every now and then starting up over all christendom, that the lay-powers were at last obliged to interfere, and to prohibit any farther multiplication of them. How far our Kings and Bishops did right in bringing them in and encouraging them at first, is not for me to say. No doubt they did it for the best, and had both good hopes and designs: But they could not foresee consequences, nor guard against the corruptions which their well-intended liberality might at some time occasion. However, so it is in fact, that this donation of King Edgar was the first of the kind among us, and paved the way for the many various troops of Monks that from time to time followed, and got themselves seated in the best lodgings and most fertile grounds that were any where to be had, till in end, either their riches, or the bad use they made of them, were their ruin, and extinguished the very name of them in this island.

In this King's time too began another affair, which made a great noise for some centuries, and

LETTER has been variously thought of, according to the  
 XV. variety of humours and views among men:  
 ~~~~~ mean, these formidable expeditions to the East  
 for recovering the holy land out of the hands of
 the Mahometan infidels, which, from the adventures
 wearing *Crosses* sewed upon their garments
 were called the *Croisades*, and which, as it were
 by an universal infatuation, engaged the attention
 of all ranks for a long tract of time. It was in
 the year 1096 that the first of these expeditions
 was resolved on, at the earnest solicitations of the
 then Pope Urban, in a national council at Clermont
 in France. And in the year 1099 Godfrey Earl of
 Bouloign, who had been chosen to command the
 army and head the undertaking, was, after several
 successful battles against the infidels in those parts,
 crowned King of Jerusalem, but did not enjoy his
 dignity long, for he died the next year. This began
 the great undertaking, which with no small difficulty
 was supported by a continued repetition of attempts,
 and in which our Kings oft took a share, tho' not in
 their own persons, till after a multitude of disappointments
 the Princes of Europe saw that the project was
 not likely to succeed, and so in end withdrawing
 their forces, thought proper to leave the Mahometans
 in full possession of these countries to this day.
 As it does not seem to lie within the compass
 of my design, I shall not take upon me to give
 any positive opinion about the absolute lawfulness
 of such an undertaking. To an unprejudiced person,
 it must appear a little doubtful, whether the
 Princes of the West had to dispute the Saracens
 conquests in the East, and to try, at the expense
 of such a vast effusion of christian blood, to wrest

out of the hands of the present possessors a tract of country which, tho' once blessed with the precious privilege of being the *holy land* indeed, had been now for more than four hundred years abandoned by the divine protection, and given up to these merciless invaders as lawful inheritance. But without entering farther into the merits of the cause on either side, this much I may take the freedom to say, that however pious or lawful these croisades might have been in the original design of them, they were most irregularly conducted in the execution, and turned out to most miserable account in the end. The Popes were the only gainers by them: For they never failed to make use of them for the worthy purpose of embarrassing the German Emperors and other Christian Princes, and of squeezing money into their own coffers, under pretence of raising supplies for these holy wars. If it shall be thought a laudable enterprize, which is the great, if not the only plea that can be advanced for them, to rescue the poor christians in these parts from the oppression of such savage barbarians, it were possible perhaps to confute such a plea, by the counterbalance of the millions of christian lives (equal in number probably to all of that character in the holy land) that were lost in the struggle, and which, as matters turned out, were thrown away to no purpose. Upon the whole, we may now, from the experience of so many hundred years, and upon the faith of so many authentic histories, pronounce of these romantic expeditions, that their lawfulness was questionable, the management of them foolish, and the event not only highly pernicious to the undertakers, but even in

LETTER end fatal to the very cause for which they were
 XVI. undertaken. What is it that mistaken zeal and
 a forward temerity will not drive men to?

I am, &c.

L E T T E R XVI.

*Accession of Alexander I.—His Resolution in the
 Affair of Eadmer, elect Bishop of St. Andrews
 —Account of the Controversy about the Investiture of Bishops.*

A.D. 1107.

KING EDGAR died in the tenth year of his reign and was succeeded by his brother Alexander, who for the courageous and undaunted spirit, which he displayed on several occasions, was surnamed the *Fierce*.—In the first year of his reign, there came Monks of the Benedictine order from Tyron to Scotland, where Radulphus, one of their number, was made their Abbot. This King likewise founded the canon regulars of St. Augustin, as they were called, the Abbeys of Scoon and Inch-corm, with the priories of Lochtay and St. Andrews. He completed the buildings of Dunfermling, which his father had begun, and gave to the Bishop

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of St. Andrews a piece of ground called *Cunsur*
apri, with many other rich benefactions. But
 the most important transaction in his reign, that
 strictly belongs to church-affairs, is the part he
 acted, and the opposition he met with, about fil-
 ling the see of St. Andrews upon Turgot's death.
 The King had written, we are told, to Ralph
 then Archbishop of Canterbury, upon this event,
 desiring his advice and assistance in supplying the
 vacancy, and complaining of the Archbishop of
 York's intermeddling in the affairs of the Scottish
 church. However, four years elapsed before any
 thing was done in the business: For Ralph was
 obliged to go to Rome to support his own cause
 against his competitor of York, where after much
 wrangling he carried his point, and returned to
 England in triumph. On his return, Alexander
 renewed his application, and desired that Eadmer
 a Monk of Canterbury, of whom he had heard
 a good report, might be sent to him. To this,
 Ralph, tho' with much reluctance, consented, and
 dispatched Eadmer with commendatory letters to
 Scotland, who upon the third day after his com-
 ing to St. Andrews, was, with the King's licence,
 chosen by the clergy and laity to be their Bishop.
 But the next day, in discoursing with the King
 about his consecration, Eadmer magnified the pre-
 rogative of the see of Canterbury over all the
 churches of Britain to such a degree, and expres-
 sed his desire of receiving consecration from the
 hands of that Archbishop in such positive terms,
 as highly offended the King, who was equally
 positive not to admit any such precedent. So
 that in end, after much contention, Eadmer was
 persuaded by some friends who knew the King's
 inflexible temper, to give up his election and re-
 turn

LETTER turn to his own country. He returned accord-
 XVI. ingly, and the election fell next without any con-
 troversy on Robert the first Prior of the lately
 erected abbey of Scoon.

This is the substance of the whole affair, as related by Archbishop Spotswood and Mr. Collier from Eadmer's own account of it, which we may fairly suppose, would be fully as favourable to the pretensions of the see of Canterbury, which he had such a pride in being a Monk of, as to the privileges of the Scottish church, where he had been chosen to be a Bishop. For he tells us himself that, when the King urged his having no connection with Canterbury now that he was elected Bishop of St. Andrews, he replied with some heat, that "not for that bishoprick, nor for all Scotland would he deny himself to be a Monk of Canterbury." By his account indeed, the King is represented as having betrayed much fickleness and inconstancy, which is not consistent with the character given him by other writers. For in his first letter to Ralph he is made to say, that "the Bishops of St. Andrews were wont to be consecrated only by the Pope himself, or by the Archbishop of Canterbury," which yet Mr. Collier says is contrary to matter of fact, "the churches of Scotland having been a long time under the metropolitical jurisdiction of the see of York." However he seems to hold the letter as genuine, as our own historian Spotswood had done before him. But another English writer, Dr. Nicholson, is of a different opinion: For having given us a copy of it, he says "there are many expressions in this letter, which are justly liable to exception, and have been thought by men of skill to favour
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Ch. Hist.
 book iv.
 p. 307.

Scotch Hist.
 lib. p. 357.

strongly of the English cloyster: Nor shall I pretend to vindicate it." And even Mr. Collier himself, upon other occasions, produces several of his own country-men suspecting the honesty of the Monks of Canterbury in matters that concerned their own dignity, and even charging them with falsifying papers for that purpose. But allowing that Alexander had really written such a letter, and in such terms, yet if his behaviour be fairly examined, it may be justified upon the supposition that what he wrote had proceeded from his not being then properly acquainted with the independent constitution of this church: * And his refusal to admit Eadmer's being consecrated by Canterbury might have been the result of mature consultation with his other Bishops, who knew better, and might fear the troublesome consequences of such a proposal.— Mr. Collier indeed goes further in his narration of this affair than Spotswood had done, and tells us, that after Eadmer had lived privately two years at Canterbury, he wrote to King Alexander, expressing his willingness to accept the charge on the King's own terms; but died, as Mr. Collier supposes, before it could be known what effect this offer would have had. And here we find a strange kind of reason assigned for his thus renewing his claim, "because he had been advised by some Bishops that election went far-

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XVI.

* Sir David Dalrymple is of opinion, that Alexander's expression was flattering and artful. He meant to relieve his kingdom from the pretension of the one Archbishop, without acknowledging the authority of the other. He therefore left the right of consecrating doubtful between the Pope and the Archbishop of Canterbury, while at the same time he seemed to place them both on a level. (Annals of Scotland, vol I. p. 52.)

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LETTER “ther towards the character of a Prelate the
 XVI. “consecration;” as if the simple voices of the
 clergy were more operative to the Episcopal character than the solemn and authoritative decision of the Bishops. It might be asked, what part of the Episcopal office the most regular election could warrant the exercise of, without or before consecration? Could the elect by the single virtue of his election hold synods, or enact canons, or confer orders? He might, perhaps be legally entitled to receive rents, or exact tithes, or lease lands, which indeed at that time began to be too much reckoned the material parts of what the historian calls the character of a Prelate. But to act in the character of an Apostolic, or even a Cyprianic Bishop, certainly no man could pretend under any title whatever, till he had the power conferred upon him by those who only could confer it.

As this struggle between Alexander and Eadmer is the first instance of the kind to be met with in our Scottish church, it leads us to take notice of a dispute which was much agitated at that time between the church and the state, and more particularly between the Popes and temporal Princes, about the right, as it was called, of the investiture of Bishops. This ceremony was performed by the King's delivering a ring and a crozier, or pastoral staff, out of his hands to the Bishop elect before consecration, thereby investing him in the lands and temporalities belonging to the bishoprick. And we are told that, in the present case, a compromise was made between the King and Eadmer, by which Eadmer received the ring out of the King's hand, and took the crozier from off the altar; and that on his

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relation he returned the ring into the King's LETTER
 hands, laid down the crozier on the altar, and XVI.
 departed. This was halving the business, and
 compounding matters for the sake of peace, by
 consent of both parties. For now the conten-
 tion had begun, whether the church or state pos-
 sessed this right of investiture. When the Wes-
 tern church was first endowed with lands and
 temporal baronies, which did not happen till the
 decay of the Roman empire in the West, and
 never was in use in the Eastern church, where
 the clergy to this day have no such endowments,
 the donors of these lands required, what appeared
 to be no more than reasonable, some declaration
 of homage and allegiance for the lands thus given.
 They made use of a ring and staff, as the
 outward symbols of such declaration. This was
 for a long time readily complied with, and the
 church-men, even Popes themselves, made no
 scruple to receive such comfortable donations, on
 that were then thought such easy conditions. But
 about forty years before the period we are now
 arrived at, Pope Gregory VII. who, as many even
 of the Popish writers acknowledge, affected to
 set the spiritual Sovereign to the highest stretch
 of despotism, thought proper to annul this prac-
 tice, and thereby, as he gave out, to abrogate the
 least shadow of controul that the state might pre-
 tend to have over the church. This was a bold
 introduction, and his successors took care to fol-
 low out the plan, by various methods and under
 various pretences, till, about the beginning of this
 Alexander's reign, Pope Paschal II. went so far
 as to pronounce a formal excommunication against
 any Bishop who should receive investiture from
 the lay-powers, or should communicate with those
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LETTER who did: And tho', upon his being taken prisoner by the Emperor Henry V. who was a principal party in the quarrel, he yielded all that the Emperor desired, yet he was no sooner at liberty than he solemnly revoked every concession he had made, with the common excuse, that it was extorted from him in duress.

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All this happened in the time of our first Alexander, and was the cause of much contention and disorder for some years. On the Pope's side it was argued, That the church being a spiritual, was an independent society: That she had received her powers from Christ, so could not yield them up to the Prince: That it was sacrilege in the state to demand any acknowledgements from the church, and simony in the church to give any: That false encroachments destroyed the constitution of the church, and cancelled the divine original charter of her settlement: And to corroborate these arguments, Paschal produced the decrees, as he called them, of his predecessors, Victor, Zephyrinus and many more, in confirmation of the immunities of Holy Church. These were specious arguments and seemed to carry a great deal of force with them. But as the Abbé Fleury observes, in several parts of his history of these times, especially in his discourses on church matters, (which even Voltaire, in his Age of Louis XIV. says, are the best that ever were written) all this was but confounding things, and jumbling together the two powers of the church, the spiritual and the temporal, which ought still to be considered separately in every controversy of this kind. For on the side of the temporal princes, it might be, and was pleaded, That they did not design to meddle with, or encroach upon, any inherent radical powers of the church.

church: That their becoming members of the church, if it did not increase, certainly did not diminish, what rights otherwise belonged to them as sovereigns within their respective dominions: That they and their predecessors, in their willingness to protect and encourage the church, never intended either to invade her privileges, or throw away their own prerogatives: That these lands, and the regalities annexed to them, being parcels of their several crowns, they had a right to require and expect such acknowledgements for the gift of them, as might tend to their own security, and were not denied by other holders: That if it was wrong in the state to require such acknowledgements, it was equally wrong in the church to have accepted upon these conditions, as she had no more to do but refuse the gift, if the conditions did not please her: That therefore, if it should be called sacrilege in Princes to keep hold of the lands and lordships once given to the church, and accepted by her upon such and such conditions, what could it be called in the church to pretend to possess the gift, and now to quarrel at and depart from the conditions on which she had accepted it? In a word that it was not Bishops, but Barons they were contending with: So that if the church found any inconvenience from the union of these two characters, she had no more ado but throw up the donations on which it was founded, and revert to her original and undisputed independence.

Thus was the question bandied backward and forward between the two rival powers, and it is no difficult matter to see on what side the right lies, or rather that both sides were partly in the right, and partly in the wrong. The lay-side

LETTER XVI. claimed too much, and the church would yield nothing. She maintained, that the gifts bestowed upon her by the piety of former times were unconditional, so could not be retracted upon any alleged failure or refusal whatever: Which plea though plausible enough in appearance, and insisted on in this controversy, even by writers who otherwise profess no favour for the papal pretensions, yet upon the main does not seem to be altogether well founded. It is certain that the practice of thus giving away parcels of land, with honours and powers annexed, being a part of and flowing from the feudal system, which after the irruption of the Goths into the several parts of the Roman empire had prevailed over all the West, always implied some general return of homage and service, whether the particular species of such service was positively expressed or not: So that tho' the Bishop, as such, and abstractedly from any adventitious consideration might justly claim the independence of the Episcopal character on any civil power whatever, yet upon his being invested with, and accepting of the additional titles and honours of Baron, he thereby became liable to the sovereign lord of the barony in the common burdens and services incident to such tenures. For it is scarcely supposable that the Gothic Princes, who were the first donors of such gifts, would have given off such large portions of their dominions, which had cost them so long time and so much trouble to acquire without some acknowledgment, if not of subjection, at least of dependence and fidelity. Neither do we read that the Bishops or churchmen who first received these new gifts, ever refused,

refused, acknowledged. On the most favourable deliv- the ring-er, of p- before c- something- nce to- e a Biss- charge, Christ t- ar cere- spect t- at last, the Emp- still infi- and an- opes an- sometime- rinces- At last, a- matic fa- would co- oke, th- it wer- ave bee- liance, between All whic- out age- ot be- make th- and com- id. Yo-

used, or shewed any reluctance to the requisite acknowledgments. LETTER
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On the other hand, what seemed to have been most faulty on the side of the temporal power, was the delivery of the ring and crozier, which, from the ring's being the symbol of marriage, and the crozier, by resembling a shepherd's crook, an emblem of pastoral care, and these too to be received before consecration, might be thought to convey something of a sacred character, and give countenance to a dangerous mistake, as if one could not be a Bishop till the King had married him to his charge, and committed the feeding of the flock of Christ to him. For which reason, this particular ceremony, as carrying such an unfavourable aspect to the spiritual powers of the church, was at last, after much wrangling, departed from by the Emperor and other lay-sovereigns. But they still insisted on homage and allegiance for the lands and temporalities held of them, which the Popes and church-men sometimes yielded and sometimes objected to, according as they saw the princes refractory or tractable in the dispute.—At last, after a variety of what were called pragmatic sanctions and concordates, which one Pope would confirm, and his next successor perhaps revoke, the whole affair by degrees, and insensibly it were, fell into that condition in which matters have been carried on, with a shew of outward compliance, often mingled with secret discontent, between the church and state these many years. All which is owing to the liberality of those distant ages, when it was thought, too much could not be done to aggrandize the church, and to make the situation of her clergy not only easy and comfortable, but even honourable and splendid. Yet, however pious and laudable the design might

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might have been, the effect it had for a long time was to strengthen the hands of the Roman Pontiffs, and to add to that wealth and power which they had been, thro' so many centuries, striving to accumulate, and which this long struggle about investitures gave them such a plausible handle to secure. For by all their endeavours to bring the clergy from beneath the temporal yoke, as they called it, their great aim was to draw them the more completely under their own; so that what the state lost, either by concession or thro' necessity, in the contest, was a gain to the church in general, or to the several Bishops in the several parts of it, but was all swallowed up in the particular church of Rome, and sunk in the Pope's private exchequer. Yet the Church, as every denomination and division call themselves, when they are once established by law, is complaining of the evil, and pushing by all possible means for a cure; while the radical cause of the evil is greedily retained, and the settlements made upon her by the state stick for, and kept hold of with as much zeal and eagerness as used to be shown in old times for the essentials of faith, or purity of worship. Our age and country afford a proof of this, in more respects than one; only with this difference among us, that what the Pope in the days of his royal grasp so eagerly at, the people now put in the claim for, and are as clamorous as ever he was, for the precious right of nominating those who are to enjoy the legal stipends.

But we need not dwell longer on the controversy at this time: We shall see the various methods of handling it, and the various consequences of it, as we go along. The part which K. Al-

under acted in the affair of Eadmer the Monk of **LETTER**
 Canterbury, besides its connection with the sub- **XVI.**
 ject of investitures, has a relation likewise to ano-
 ther important and much contended article, the
 objection of our church to an English metropoli-
 tan. But as this will come before us again, at a
 subsequent period, and in a more agitated man-
 ner, I shall refer till then, what may be said upon
 it, and conclude this letter, with observing, that
 after having reigned happily and commendably
 seventeen years, Alexander I. died without issue,
 in the year 1124, and was succeeded by his bro-
 ther David.

I am, &c.

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LETTER XVII.

Bounty of K. David to the Church—His Character vindicated—Decretals of Popes compiled by Gratian—Two National Councils held, one at Roxburgh; the other at Carlisle—Accession and short Reign of Malcolm IV.—Account of Peter Lombard, &c.—And of the School-Divinity.

A.D. 1124.

DAVID, when Prince of Cumberland, in the time of his brother Alexander, had been a great benefactor to the church, particularly the lately re-erected See of Glasgow, by making inquiry into, and restoring the lands, which had belonged to it, but by some means or other had been wrested from it. When he came to the throne, as his power was enlarged, so his benefactions increased in proportion. He founded monasteries of Jedburgh, Kelso, Melrose, Newbattle, Holyroodhouse, Kinloss, Cambuskenneth, Dundrenan, and Holmcultran in Cumberland. He endowed two monasteries at Newcastle, and two nunneries for women, one at Berwick, and another

another at Carlisle. To the six Bishopricks already in Scotland, he added other four, Ross, Morrichen, Dumblane, and Dunkeld. So say all our historians, one after another. And yet it would appear, by what Mr Goodall has produced in his prefatory dissertation, that these two last had been ancients than K. David's time: For he has met with a Cormac, Bishop of Dunkeld; attesting two charters of K. Alexander's, and consequently prior to David: And as to Dumblane, he has made it appear, from the mention of a vacancy in it for a hundred years, that such a vacancy must have been before K. David, because from his time, the succession of its Bishops is clear and continued. From which Mr Goodall concludes, that Dumblane, as well as Dunkeld, had been a Bishop's Seat in very ancient times, tho' K. David, who put them on a regular footing, according to the late plan of temporal endowment, has, on that account, not altogether improperly, got the glory of having first erected them. Be in this what will, it is universally agreed, that he removed the Bishop's Seat from Mortlich, where Malcolm II. had fixed it more than a hundred and twenty years before, to Old Aberdeen, and bestowed upon it many lands about that town, and in Clate, Tilly-
 eisle, Rain, Daviot, and elsewhere, by which, says Spotswood, that See was greatly enriched. The first Bishop after this removal was Nectanus, whom K. David's charter was granted. About this time there happened a strange commotion in England, on account of a disputed succession to the crown, which gave our good King much uneasiness, and necessarily entangled him in war, contrary to the peaceable bent of his truly Christian disposition. The case was this: Henry

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LETTER I. of England had married the Princess Maud, on
 XVII. David's sister, by whom, at his death, he left
 only one daughter Maud, who was first married
 to the Emperor Henry V. and next to the Earl of
 Anjou in France, to whom she bore a son called
 after his grandfather, Henry. The old Henry
 on his death-bed, made the clergy and nobility of
 England take an oath of allegiance to his daughter
 and her issue, as the true heirs of the crown,
 designing thereby to secure the peace of the king-
 dom, by settling the succession. Yet no soon
 as Henry was dead, than Stephen, his sister's son,
 set up an opposite claim, and landing in England
 got a part of the nobility, and the most of the
 clergy, to veer about from their former oaths, and
 declare for him. The Pope too thought proper
 to sanctify this usurpation by his authority, and
 by a formal Bull took Stephen under his protec-
 tion. Yet this appearance of the Pope on the side
 of injustice, did not hinder our King from inter-
 esting himself in the quarrel, both to support his
 niece's title, and to fulfil the engagements which
 on account of the large possessions he held in Eng-
 land, he had entered into with her father in her
 favour. During the whole time that the usurpa-
 tion was kept up, he stood firm to the right
 cause, and more than once appeared personally
 with arms, with various success indeed, against Stephen
 and his party, till by his powerful and persevering
 interposition, the compromise was brought about
 by which his grand-nephew Henry peaceably suc-
 ceded the throne upon Stephen's death.

How ungratefully this Henry requited all that
 by his behaviour to David's posterity, I need not
 spend time in observing. Neither does it lie much
 in my way to pass any sentence upon the unchari-
 table

Maud, on characteristic conduct of the English clergy, with the LETTER
 h, he le Pope at their head, on this occasion. I shall leave XVII.
 st marri both these topics to their own historians, who, 
 he Earl with all their partiality, are at a loss for arguments
 son called to justify what I have mentioned. Only it is mani-
 old Henry est, what a noble and generous part our King acted
 nobility at this time to the injured side. And it is the more
 his daugh remarkable, that he might have acted otherwise,
 the crown with a better right than can be commonly alledged
 of the king in such cases. His own title to the disputed crown
 no sooner as preferable to that of either of the competitors,
 after's son as upon his uncle Edgar Atheling's death, he was
 England the sole male-heir of the Saxon kings. And tho'
 most of the English historians give out that Henry the
 oaths, and first's marriage with Maud reconciled the English
 right proper to him, by thus uniting their old Saxon royal
 ority, and blood with that of the late Norman invaders, yet
 his protes they could not but know that Maud's brothers,
 on the side and their issue, had all of them a prior right to
 from inter her and her issue, upon the footing of hereditary
 support his succession. For what reason our Kings made no
 nts which pretensions about this time, is not easy now to say.
 eld in Eng Malcolm Canmore, the first of them, who in vir-
 ner in he ue of his Queen Margaret had any pretensions to
 the usurp make, was precluded from pushing her right dur-
 the right ing the life of her brother Edgar, who being a
 personally man of no ambition, submitted to the Norman
 ast Steph princes, and lived privately in England to a good
 persevering old age without any disturbance. Consequently,
 ight about either Malcolm, nor his two sons Edgar and
 aceably a Alexander, had any room to claim, tho' they had
 h. been both able and willing, as long as the near-
 ed all this heir was silent : And when David succeeded,
 I need not tho' his uncle was then dead, yet finding his sis-
 it ly much ter sharing the English throne, and having issue
 the uncha to fill it after her death, he might yield his own
 racteristi

LETTER right to such a near relation, and be satisfied
 XVII. see the Saxon race once more swaying the scepter
 of their ancestors. For tho' the Duke of Normandy pretended a title to the English crown, by the testamentary gift of Edward the confessor, yet that deed, tho' genuine, which is much questioned, could give no fair title, as that Edward was only younger brother to Edgar Atheling's grand-father, and so had not the right in his own person. Neither can it be said, that the Pope's Bull to William, authorising him to take and keep possession of the English throne, could have been the influencing motive with our David, however good a friend to the Pope otherwise, as we find him paying no regard to a like Bull at this time in Stephen's favour. Which shews by the bye, that our Kings then, tho' respectful enough to the Pope, when he kept within proper bounds, yet took the liberty to oppose him, when they found him patronizing what they thought injustice. At that time too, when notions for the most part were of a warlike disposition, and the modes of hereditary succession not so nicely and regularly ascertained as afterward, the longest sword might be thought to give a sufficient title, especially when it met with no opposition from a better one. Accordingly we are told that the Duke of Normandy rested his plea most upon this bottom, and he is commonly known in the list of the English Kings, by the distinguishing appellation of William the *Conqueror*.

I have said so much upon this difficult subject not with a view to determine on which side the right lay, which is both foreign to my purpose, and perhaps above my capacity, but to do justice to our good King's character, which is much misrepresented

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mented by the English historians on this occasion. Thus Mr. Collier, notwithstanding of his seeming to condemn Stephen's intrusion, by his arguing every where against it, yet artfully disguises the true reasons of our King's motions, and only says, "many of the nobility in the Southern parts now appearing against Stephen, and giving him a diversion, David King of Scots takes hold of the opportunity, and invades England with a numerous army."—
 might it not have been expected from Mr. Collier, that he would have mentioned the defence of the Empress's title, which himself acknowledges to be the just one, as the onerous cause that led David to this expedition, and not have put it, as his way of telling it would imply, upon the cowardly motive of seizing the favourable opportunity of the usurper's being otherwise distressed? Even Camden too, another English writer, who pretends to a great deal of candour and impartiality, throws a mean reflection on King David's memory, in his *Britannia*, where describing Northallerton in Yorkshire, he says, "near this place was the battle, commonly called of the *Standard*, fought, in which David King of Scots, who with unheard of cruelty had made these countries almost a desert, was put to flight, with such a slaughter of his men, that our people concluded justice had now got her full revenge." This is very inconsistent with the amiable character and humane disposition of that Prince, who, with much more appearance of truth, is said to have grievously lamented these unavoidable, and on both sides customary devastations, which the just war he was engaged in gave

 Hist. b. iv.
 p. 329.

LETTER gave occasion to, and which it was not in his
 XVII. power entirely to prevent.

~~~~~ A worthy man in every respect he certainly was. Mr. Collier owns "he was a Prince of a great many good qualities, and endeavoured to promote the interests of religion." And Buchanan, no great flatterer of Kings, says of him, that "the most ingenious orators, in endeavouring to give a description of a perfect King could not in their minds form such a model as David approved himself to be, in every part of his life." We read of no contentions between him and the Popes, or other church-men about elections or promotions of clergy. Either his extraordinary piety had inclined him to yield any contendable point, and rather depart from his own right than disturb the peace of his mind by seeking to defend it: Or the Popes and the partizans might be so struck with his unequalled munificence to the church, that they could not find in their hearts to have any disputes with such a patron, or wish to create him any uneasiness. Indeed this his extraordinary liberality has been variously thought and spoken of. The reflection of King James I. upon it is well known, that "he was a fair saint for the crown," or as John Major tells it, that on looking at his grave he should say, "Lie there, thou most pious of Kings but one who has been detrimental to the Kingdom and kingdom of Scotland," meaning that he spent too much of the royal revenues in building so many and so magnificent edifices: "Of which opinion, says Major, I myself am, for he mortified upwards of sixty thousand crowns upon these abbacies, and he could not at first have reared the fabrics without a much larger sum."

Hist. b. iii.  
 chap. 11.

"Y

Yet in these works the King did not do amiss, but acted very piously: For to a morally good work it is not required that it should be regulated by prudence: It is enough that it proceed from ignorance, or even from an unwilling error, &c." This may appear but a lame sort of vindication, tho' very much in the scholastic manner of its author. Archbishop Spotswode makes a better defence, by having recourse to the ready excuse of a good intention, with no sinister designs at first, and not responsible for consequences." But whatever may be said for the moral goodness of such benefactions, it is not easy to shew how it was possible that these pious Kings should have so many lands to bestow upon bishoprics and abbeys, if it be true, which all our histories agree in, that Malcolm II. had given away his lands among the nobility so long before: unless we shall suppose, with Buchanan, in his account of this Malcolm, that they recovered them again by condemnations and forfeitures. But it is not very likely, that such worthy men, as all the intermediate Kings were, would have gone on with such an iniquitous and unpopular practice, or that so many families would have parted with such large possessions, without more noise and disturbance than our histories have taken notice of. There seems therefore to be something here, which cannot be easily unravelled at this distance of time, for want of proper and authentic records, as there are few of the charters of our noble families which go so high up as these times. Only we are sure of the fact in one part, that the church was richly endowed by repeated instances of royal bounty, whatever source that bounty had to flow from: And as this King David

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vid surpassed all his predecessors, both in the number and extent of his donations, so, it might be thought, he had left little to his successors to do of the like kind, either because the church was now abundantly provided for, or the royal revenue much exhausted. Yet it does not appear to have been altogether drained: For we shall find his successors now and then following his example; and it is one of the arguments used in his vindication, that, much as he gave away, he did not so far impoverish the crown, but that his posterity had funds in their hands wherewith to shew their good-will to the church, in the same way, if not to the same degree, as he had done.

It was in this King's time that the Monk Gratian, a Tuscan by birth, compiled that great work of the *Decretum*, or decretals of Popes, which the church of Rome has made so much use of ever since, and is the principal foundation of what they call the *Canon* law. Something of this kind had been attempted before by an Italian, Hieronymus Mercator, who published a collection of canons and decrees of Popes from Clement down to Sylvester, which collection, tho' full of blunders and manifest tokens of forgery, imposed upon the whole Latin church, and for eight hundred years, even down to the last century, passed for the world as genuine. But now, says Fleury, there is no person ever so slenderly acquainted with church-matters but knows them to be counterfeit. The two learned Cardinals, Baronius and Bellarmine, tho' they fain would have made use of them, saw so many insuperable objections against them, that they were obliged to give them up, and confess the imposture. Yet Gratian

compilation, which is still in esteem with the Ro-  
manists, has a great resemblance to this farrago  
of Mercator's; and the commentaries upon his  
work, commonly called *Glossa Decreti*, are much  
of the same stamp, notwithstanding of the great  
efforts laid upon them. Such have been the pillars  
which so long supported the stupendous fabric  
of papal power, which, experience has shewn, soon  
began to totter, when these pillars were shaken,  
and it is a shame in the church of Rome to keep  
up a chain of pretensions, which had nothing  
but such palpable, and now discarded forgeries,  
to countenance and enforce them.

In this reign too were held two national coun-  
cils in the dominions of the Scottish King. One  
at Roxburgh by the Cardinal Priest John of Cre-  
ta, the Pope's Legate, of whom the English his-  
torians tell, that, after he had one day inveighed  
with great bitterness in a splendid oration against  
the married clergy, he was next night caught in  
bed with a strumpet, and obliged to scamper off  
with disgrace. Baronius is at great pains to dis-  
prove this ill-looking story, but after all is so  
modest as to own, that his defence falls short of  
justification, and that it is possible the Pope's  
representatives may fail in their morals like other  
people. Which we own to be a pertinent enough  
answer; and our writers would not take so much  
notice of this affair, if the Romanists were not  
always boasting of the continence and purity of  
their clergy, which this instance, in such a man  
and at such a time, may put them in mind is not  
always so strict as they would make us believe.

The other council was held by the Legate Al-  
mericus Bishop of Ostia at Carlisle, where in those  
days King David ordinarily kept his court. But  
what

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what was done in either of these councils we are not told: And indeed the great design of such meetings, and under such presidents, seems to have been not so much to preserve the faith, or reform the manners of christians, as to display the glory of the papal see, or decide any difference among the Bishops or Abbots about power or precedence. It was this King too, who for the peace of the church, proposed an union between the Canons of St. Andrews and the Culdees of Lochleven, which neither of the parties were pleased with, and notwithstanding of the King's laudable intentions, turned out to nothing at that time but paved the way for the utter extinction of the Culdees in the end.

At last, after a reign of twenty nine years, the great and good King David died in the year 1153, and was succeeded by his grandson Malcolm IV. and last of his name, a youth of only twelve or thirteen years of age. His being so young exposed him to the insults of his cousin Henry II. of England, who forgetting the service done to his mother and himself by Malcolm's grandfather David, and in evasion of the oath that he had sworn when he received the honour of Knighthood from his hands, never to disturb his posterity, yet harassed this young Prince with perpetual vexations, and at last wrested Northumberland out of his hands, leaving him only Cumberland and Huntingdon. This Malcolm, commonly called the *Maiden*, founded a monastery of Cistercian Monks at Cupar in Angus, and gave Matthew Kininmont, the Bishop of Aberdeen, who built the cathedral church in memory of St. Machar, the lands of Tulligrig, Fetterneir, Cruden, Banchory-Devenick, and Belhelvie, with the p

ronage of the churches. He died unmarried in the twenty fifth year of his age, and twelfth of his reign. Boece has given us a long and learned speech made to him by Ernold Bishop of St. Andrews, persuading him to marry. And Archbishop Spotswood tells us, that Edward Bishop of Aberdeen was at as much pains to dissuade him from it, which, he says, procured Edward the hatred of many.

In this King's time flourished Peter Lombard, Bishop of Paris, who compiled the *Book of Sentences*, as it is called, which from that time began, and still continues to be taught in all the Popish schools of divinity. Hence he is called *The Master of the Sentences*, and his work has been the great text of all the various and contending tribes of schoolmen ever since. This introduced a new form of theology into the church, which, with the aid of the canon law, a production of much the same date, has done signal service indeed to the Romish cause, but has rather been prejudicial than useful to the real interests of religion. In the first ages of the gospel, the christian doctrines were delivered in a clear and perspicuous manner, and no subtilties of logic were used but in disputations with the pagan philosophers, or with the more cunning and dangerous of the heretics. The Catechumens were taught a short confession of faith, which contained the principal articles of religion, and was explained to them in easy discourses adapted to their understandings. The sermons or homilies usually delivered to the people, were designed to explain some portion of scripture, or enforce some moral doctrine. But this plain and simple method of instruction fell by degrees into neglect, and a

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LETTER more subtle and perplexed form was substituted  
 XVII. in the room of it, as appears from the pretended  
 works of Dionysius the Areopagite, which were  
 forged in the fifth or sixth century.

About the middle of the eighth century, John Damascene was the first writer among the Greeks who moulded divinity into a sort of system, and divided its particular doctrines into proper heads in his four books *Of the Orthodox Faith*. In the Latin church we find no writer attempting this design before Lanfranc, who was Archbishop of Canterbury in the time of William the Conqueror, and is said to have composed a body of divinity which is not now extant. Some time after him appeared in France Peter Abelard, one of the ablest and most acute scholars of his age, who published an introduction to divinity in three books, which, notwithstanding of the man's peculiarities, and the persecution raised against him by some leading men in the church, both on account of his tenets, and for his attachment to his beloved Eloisa, yet was of great use to Peter Lombard, who soon after, and on the same plan composed his book of sentences from the writings of the fathers, especially of St. Augustin, who has ever since been reckoned the great Doctor of the Latin church. And now the study of divinity assumed an entirely new form, and was branched out into an infinite number of questions which were debated with all the warmth and subtilty imaginable. Lombard was followed by a variety of authors, all pretending to work after his model, such as Alexander Hales, Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventure, Albertus, and many others, who are all distinguished in the Roman church by the title of *Doctor*, with some partic-

In addition, as *Doctor Angelicus, Doctor Subtilis, Doctor Fundatissimus, &c.* And these were afterwards divided into different parties and sects, into *Nominals* and *Realists, Thomists* and *Scotists, Sententiarians* and *Quodlibetarians*, who, under all their pretexts of unity and following the same master, were in direct opposition to, and had violent contests with one another.

Thus the pure doctrines of primitive christianity were laid aside, and nothing studied but school divinity: For the improvement of which the Aristotelian philosophy was called in to lend its aid, and that too not learned from the Greek originals, which Europe did not see for many years after this time, but collected out of wretched Arabian books, and even from translations of them, ill performed, and worse understood.— Yet with all these defects, this jumble of philosophy was incorporated into the theology of those times, and Aristotle held the chair of St. Paul for many ages. By this heterogeneous mixture, christianity was miserably vitiated, and every new attempt brought in a new corruption. The original method adopted by Lombard, of extracting passages from the fathers on every particular head, was now departed from, and instead of it, recourse was had to philosophical principles and metaphysical distinctions, which could be so twisted as to prove or perplex any subject. The commentators indeed gave out Lombard for their text, and pretended to follow and explain the *Master of the Sentences*: But they soon forsook their guide, and wandered far and wide into the fields of metaphysics. Aristotle was the grand oracle for determining most of the intricate questions in divinity: Or if at any time they were pleased

LETTER XVII. pleased to consult the writings of the fathers, was only as they found them in Lombard, Gratian, or in the common *gloss*, which made the quotations often neither exact nor pertinent. Hence the scholastic style is so justly complained of as dry and barbarous, and for the most part attended with disgusting obscurity. Nor was this the worst of it: This depravity and want of taste gradually crept from the school to the pulpit, and affected their manner of preaching where preaching was thought necessary. Their sermons now became full of divisions, distinctions, and low comparisons. It was rare to find any necessary point of faith or morality unfolded in its proper extent, or established upon solid principles, and urged with eloquence and spirit. And even their devotional tracts were for the most part composed in so mystical a style, that they are quite unintelligible and useless.

Thus matters went on from bad to worse in the schools, every succeeding Doctor refining upon and adding to the blunders of his predecessor, but all agreeing, or pretending to agree, in making Aristotle their sacred and infallible standard. And that too, to such a wild degree of veneration, that some of their writers have not scrupled to say, that "without Aristotle the church should have wanted many articles of faith," and "that Aristotle was as much the fore-runner of Jesus Christ in natural things, as John the Baptist was in spirituals." It would not be believed what fulsome panegyrics the schoolmen have lavished upon Aristotle, and what a mighty stress they have always laid upon his logics and metaphysics, which others have reckoned the worst and weakest parts of his philosophy, if the

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had not been at pains to publish their opinions **LETTER**  
 to the world, and boldly to upbraid the first re- **XVII.**  
 formers with their contempt and rejection of him. ~~~~~  
 is true, there have been some few in the Ro-  
 mish church who have ventured to speak other-  
 wise of the Aristotelian philosophy, and even to  
 despise the scholastic divinity founded upon it.—  
 but the great bulk of their writers, both for num-  
 ber and figure, have always been upon the school-  
 men's side, and consequently the supporters of  
 Aristotle's philosophy, as appears, among a mul-  
 titude of instances, from a remonstrance of the  
 Sorbonne as far down as the year 1639, in which  
 it is roundly asserted, that "it is impossible to  
 renounce the principles of Aristotle's philoso-  
 phy, without giving up those of the school-di-  
 vinity as received in the church." Such has  
 always been and still is the reputation of this me-  
 thod of studying divinity, which began at this  
 time upon Peter Lombard's essay, and gradually  
 rose thro' many deviations from his original de-  
 sign, to the enormous height in which it stood at  
 the reformation.\*

I am, &c.

\* Whoever would wish to see more of this subject, may con-  
 sult our Dr. Cave's *Historia Literaria*, and the French Dupin's  
*Bibliotèque*, where it will be found fully and candidly discussed,  
 with a number of useful and impartial reflections upon it.

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## L E T T E R XVIII.

*Accession of William the Lion, and State of the Church in his Reign—Claim of Metropolitan Authority over the Scottish Church by the Archbishop of York, considered—Distressing Consequences that Claim—William founds the Abbey of Abbebrothock to the Memory of Thomas Becket—Remarks on his Character and Canonization—Account of Bishop Scott of Dunkeld, with Reflections—Effects of papal Ambition—Four Councils held in Scotland.*

A.D. 1165.

**M**ALCOLM IV. was succeeded by his brother William, who, for some reason or other has been dignified with the surname of *the Lion*. His long reign, of near fifty years, is full of matter, with respect both to church and state and therefore deserves particular consideration. The first thing he took in hand was to recover Northumberland from the English, first by formally demanding it in a peaceable manner, and when that would not do, by force of arms. But in this he was unlucky: For riding out

ry too carelessly from his army, he fell in a-  
 mong some troopers of the enemy, who took him  
 in the ninth year of his reign, and carried him  
 prisoner to the King of England, who was then in  
 Normandy. This was a heavy misfortune: For,  
 to regain his liberty, William was obliged to  
 give fifteen hostages, and to deliver up four of  
 his principal castles to the English. And not con-  
 tent with this, Henry called him up to York with  
 his Bishops and Nobles, where he required him to  
 take an oath of allegiance, and to promise to hold  
 his kingdom of him as his superior Lord. The  
 English historians make much of this forced  
 concession, as that on which their subsequent  
 Sovereigns built all their ridiculous claims of  
 superiority over our kingdom. Our own writ-  
 ers on the other hand cry out, and justly too,  
 against this part of Henry's conduct, as one of  
 the most ungenerous, and, all things considered,  
 most ungrateful extortions that ever disgraced  
 a crowned head. But this affair has been ful-  
 ly cleared up by the publication of *Rymer's Fæ-  
 lera*: And the formal renunciations voluntarily  
 made, first by Richard I. and afterwards by Ed-  
 ward III. of England, are sufficient to set aside any  
 shadow of subjection, which either the rapacious  
 injustice of Henry, or the accidental captivity of  
 William, could have brought Scotland into. But  
 it was not our state only that was humbled at  
 this time: Our church too was involved in the  
 calamity. For the Archbishop of York took hold  
 of this opportunity to wreath his yoke of metropo-  
 litan authority upon the necks of our Bishops  
 and clergy, in imitation of what he had seen his  
 King doing to our King and nobility. And as  
 his claim was so formally canvassed, and in some  
 measure finally determined in this reign, for

LETTER which reason I have deferred speaking of it  
 XVIII. now, I shall at once go back to the original  
 it, and bring into one connected view all that  
 necessary to be said about it.

When Pope Gregory sent his missionaries into England, he proposed that, in the event of church-settlement, there should be two Metropolitans or Archbishops, one at London, and the other at York, which were then the two capital cities of these parts : And tho' out of personal regard to Augustin, he gave him jurisdiction over all the Bishops of Britain, yet, after his death the Southern Metropolitan, whether at London or Canterbury, was to command all the Southern churches as far as the Humber and Trent, and the Metropolitan of York, all to the North of these rivers. This formal grant of the Sovereign Pontiff has been the great source of contention and the English Primates themselves have not always agreed about it. What right Gregory had thus to model and plan out churches, may be called in question now, tho' it durst not have been meddled with some centuries ago. That there were Metropolitans in the primitive church, and Bishops of the capital cities, to whom the other Bishops of the province paid some degree of respect, and applied for advice, tho' not to the same pitch of precedence or subjection which came afterwards, but only for the sake of regularity and order, has been abundantly demonstrated by numbers of judicious antiquaries, and will not be denied by any who allow a well-constituted Episcopacy to have been the primitive government. But that these Metropolitans were nominated at pleasure, and invested with prerogative by any one single individual, whether Pope or Patriarch

Bed. lib. i.  
 cap. 27.

\* Instance  
 of the  
 desire of King

will never be made out by any solid argument, LETTER  
 or go down with any impartial inquirer. Their XVIII.  
 dignity, whether much or little, seems to have  
 been the effect of universal consent among all the  
 Bishops of the several provinces, that is, of the  
 several divisions of territory that were under the  
 civil jurisdiction of the capital cities; as it was  
 presumable they would best know what was most  
 convenient for themselves and their several con-  
 cerns. And tho' it should be said that Gregory  
 did nothing in this affair without the advice and  
 concurrence of a council of Bishops, yet what  
 could these Italian Bishops, in the neighbour-  
 hood of Rome, know about the situation of Bri-  
 tain? Or how could they judge what particular  
 regulations would be proper for the external po-  
 lity of the church at such a distance?

I know this has been always a high-sounding  
 argument in the mouth of every assuming Pope,  
 that he and his council had determined so and  
 so. But what, or who were that council? A  
 meeting of his vassals, who either would not, or  
 durst not dispute his pleasure. And indeed upon  
 their own principles of supremacy and infallibili-  
 ty, such councils were altogether superfluous.—  
 Absolute supremacy needs no concurrence, and  
 infallibility seeks no advice. Yet in fact, after  
 the Popes had begun to erect Metropolitans, fees,  
 and to grant palls or Archiepiscopal mantles, we  
 find their deeds frequently contended, and many  
 of these new privileges reverting again to the old  
 form: \* Which plainly shews, that the Popes

\* Instances of this are currently to be met with in the church  
 annals of these papal ages, even in England itself, where at the  
 desire of King Offa, the see of Litchfield was raised to an Arch-



**LETTER** had no exclusive right to invest Metropolitans  
**XVIII.** and that the church, even then, did not think  
 herself obliged to submit always to such investitures.

But, besides all this, it is still uncertain whether Pope Gregory's grant of jurisdiction over all the Bishops of Britain, was designed to extend over all the island in general, or only to include such Bishops as then were, or afterwards should be ordained, within that part of it which had been under the Roman dominion, exclusive of those among the Picts and Scots who had never bowed to the imperial yoke. For tho' Bede speaks of "*omnes Britanniarum Episcopos*," all the Bishops of *Britains* in the plural number, it is well known that the Roman conquests, which never reached, with any continuance of settlement, over the Tweed, were denominated by this plural distinction of "*Britannia superior et inferior*, or *prima et secunda*," upper and lower or first and second Britain. So that Bede might properly enough express a Roman Pope's grant in the old Roman style, without meaning to stretch the powers of the Roman church, of which he was sufficiently fond, further than the powers of the Roman state had gone. Yet the modern English writers willingly forget this distinction, and when they read in any old historian, that such and such a King Athelstan, Alfred or Edgar, ruled over all Britain, they immediately boast of this as a proof of sovereignty over

bishopric, and its bishop Aldulph honoured with the Pall by Pope Adrian I. about the end of the eighth century; and yet within a few years it fell back to its original state of subjection to Canterbury, and has continued so ever since.

Camd. Br.  
 divis.  
 Collier,  
 b. ii.  
 p. 136, 144.

Scott

Scotland too; not remembering that the oldest LETTER  
 of their writers, Bede, Malmſbury, Monmouth, XVIII.  
 &c. for the moſt part call Britain that part  
 where the Britons dwelt to the South of the  
 ſhells, and ſpeak of the Picts and Scots as be-  
 ing out of Britain, and as it were beyond the  
 ſea. Nor is this way of quibbling with the word  
 Britain confined to their accounts of the ſtate; Buch. hiſt.  
 they are at pains to bring it into their deſcriptions lib. vi. in  
 of the church alſo. Thus Camden ſays, “that reg. 75.  
 York became a Metropolitan ſee by her Biſhop  
 Paulinus getting the pall from Pope Honori-  
 us, and was to have the primacy over all the  
 Biſhops of Scotland, beſides over twelve Biſhops  
 of England: But Scotland has for theſe five  
 hundred years paſt broken off from her Metro-  
 politan.” And Mr. Collier in ſeveral parts of  
 his hiſtory goes upon the ſame ſuppoſition. Britann.  
 Brigantes,  
 Yorkſhire.  
 Now let it be obſerved, that by Bede’s account,  
 Pope Gregory’s original plan was, that the Me-  
 tropolitan of London (for it was there he deſigned  
 the dignity) ſhould conſecrate and preſide over  
 twelve ſuffragans, and the Metropolitan of York  
 ſhould have as many: So then, if according to  
 Camden, the Biſhop of York was to have a pri-  
 macy over all the Biſhops of Scotland, beſides  
 the twelve allowed him in England, he would  
 have had a larger compaſs of authority, and con-  
 ſequently have made a greater figure in the church  
 than the other Metropolitan, which none of  
 the Popes, who took the diſpoſal of theſe mat-  
 ters, ever ſo much as intended. For the other  
 Biſhops of Britain, beſides the twenty four new  
 ſections, were aſſigned to the Primate of Can-  
 terbury, not to York, as Camden and others  
 would make us believe; and their own church  
 hi-

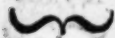
**LETTER XVIII.** histories have recorded several disputes between Canterbury and York upon that score. But whatever Canterbury might pretend to, there is not the least vestige to be met with in all the letters of Gregory, Boniface, or Honorius, as related by Bede, of any thing to justify the Archbishop of York's pretensions. And indeed it was a long time e'er these pretensions were heard of. The three Scottish Bishops of Holy-island either knew nothing of them, or paid no regard to them. During all the time of the separate state of our two monarchies, and for a long while after, they lay dormant. But no sooner had the piety of our Kings begun to settle the church in the dominions upon what may be called a lucrative footing, than the Prelate of York thought it worth his while to look our way, and to set up a claim which his see had never been in possession of.

The first public appearance of this nature, I observed before, was in the time of our Alexander I. when Thurstan Archbishop of York claimed the privilege of consecrating Eadmer the elect of St. Andrews, and Eadmer himself refused consecration from any hands, but those of the Archbishop of Canterbury. However, the King's stiffness in rejecting Eadmer, prevented the business from being brought to a decision at that time. Mr. Collier tells us, that "this Thurstan suspended John Bishop of Glasgow for refusing to make him a profession of canonical obedience, in which refusal, John acted against right and ancient custom, as appears by unquestionable records. And yet the oldest record he mentions to prove this ancient custom, is a Bull of Pope Paschal II. about nine or ten years before ordering the Scottish Bishops to receive Gerard

ork as their Metropolitan, and pay him all due LETTER  
 submission. And to strengthen all, he says Pope XVIII.  
 alixtus II. commanded John to submit to Thur-  
 an within thirty days, otherwise he threatened  
 confirm Thurstan's suspension against him.—  
 our own historians represent this affair in ano-  
 er light, as owing to Thurstan's breaking off  
 the newly erected bishopric of Carlisle from the  
 ocese of Glasgow, which provoked John to  
 row up his charge and go to Jerusalem, till the  
 pope ordered him to return; which he did, and  
 there twenty four years after.

Another of Mr Collier's proofs is from a letter  
 of Pope Honorius II. to the King of Norway, in  
 which he is desired to receive Ralph, Bishop of  
 the Orkneys, who had been consecrated by the  
 Archbishop of York, and was subject to his jurif-  
 diction. But what connexion an affair of the King  
 of Norway's could have with the concerns of the  
 Church of Scotland, is not easy to discover, even  
 wanting the story to be as genuine as Mr. Collier  
 would have it. This Ralph, he had told us before,  
 had been sent by Paul, Earl of the Orcades, desiring  
 to be consecrated Bishop of these islands, and had,  
 in conformity to the custom of his predecessors,  
 applied for consecration to the Archbishop of York,  
 who accordingly conferred it on him. Yet a good  
 while after, we find this Ralph, by commission  
 from Thurstan, at the head of the English army  
 at the battle of *The Standard*, and making a long  
 speech to them, in which he calls Scotland, "by  
 right," an English province, and, in the character  
 of a real Englishman, says, "I am ashamed that  
 these people, whom *we* have always beaten in  
 their country, should be so hardy as attack us  
 in our own." This needs to be reconciled B. iv. p. 329.  
 with



LETTER  
XVIII.Keith's  
Catalogue,  
p. 130.Hist. b. iii.  
p. 321.Hist. b. ii.  
p. 34.Hist. Acc.  
ch. i. p. 46.

with his being sent from the Orcades, and then the impropriety of adducing a man, who could not and talk after such a manner, as having any interest in, or relation to the church of Scotland. Hence it has been concluded, and not without reason, that tho' the Archbishops of York have been in use to consecrate Bishops with the title of Orkney, on purpose to swell out the dignity of their See, yet these Bishops had been all but titulars, without any authority over, or residence in these isles. But Mr Collier, notwithstanding of his affection to Thurstan, for exercising his metropolitical power over the Bishop of Glasgow has a quarrel with him on another occasion, when at the instance of our King David, he consecrated Robert, elect of St. Andrews, "without insisting upon the oath of canonical obedience from him." This is his account of the matter. But our own church historian, Archbishop Spalding, is more particular, and tells us, that Robert stood elect two years, till Alexander's death in 1124, and then received benediction at the hands of Thurstan, "with reservation of the privileges of both churches," which consecration he says, would "not have been permitted if Alexander had lived: For he was a Prince who stood much upon his royalty, and would not endure at any hand, the least encroachment upon either his kingdom or the church." There is another English writer too, and he is in a way prejudiced in our favour, the Bishop of Asaph, who is more modest on this head than Collier, and seems willing to compound this considerable claim: He insists, "that in ecclesiastical things, the Bishopricks of Glasgow and Galloway, which had been formerly erected by

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Britons, and being taken from them by the LETTER Saxons, were now come into the hands of the XVIII. Scots, were both of them subject, without contradiction, to the Archbishop of York, as their metropolitan, for many ages: But he says, when either he or Canterbury demanded the like obedience from all the Bishops of Scotland, it was refused, as being an encroachment upon the ancient liberty of the Scottish Church." This is a fair confession in so far, and coming from such an author. It is true, he cannot part with his countrymen's pretensions altogether: But then, the very reason he produces for these pretensions, tends rather to overthrow than establish them. For if the Saxon conquest of these countries from the Britons, granting it to have been so, dissolved their connexion with the British church, and united them to the Saxon church of York; then, by the same argument, the Scots getting possession of them, which he cautiously expresses by "coming into the hands of the Scots," loosed their dependence on their old Saxon masters, and joined them to the rest of the Scottish church, in communion with, if not in subjection to, the Bishop of St. Andrews, who long before this, had been called, "Maximus Scotorum Episcopus," the Chief Bishop of the Scots.

But whatever be in this, so it was, that after Thurstan had thus made the first attempt, matters stood in a state of what may be called disputable concession all King David's time. But under the weak reign of his grandson Malcolm, another push was made by Roger, then Archbishop of York, a man of unbounded ambition, who, by virtue of a legatine commission from the Pope, summoned the Scottish clergy to a provincial A D. 1159.

LETTER

XVIII.

A.D. 1159.

council which he had called to meet at Norham. To this council they sent their delegates, not yielding to his claim, but out of regard to the authority of Legate which he bore. Here the Metropolitan supremacy was warmly debated on both sides, and in end the matter was appealed to Rome as the last resort of justice. To maintain their cause before the Pope, the Scottish clergy sent Ingelram Archdeacon of Glasgow, who had been one of the delegates at Norham, and who managed the business so well, that after full hearing, Pope Alexander III. by a formal Bull declared the church of Scotland exempt from any jurisdiction but that of the Apostolic see. And the Episcopal see of Glasgow falling void in the mean time, Ingelram was in his absence elected to it, and consecrated by the Pope's own hand at Sens in France, altho' Roger's agents might have opposed it.

This, it might have been thought, would have put an end to the contention, as the Pope's bull and personal interposition, according to the principles of the parties concerned, ought to have been decisive. But as ambition is never satisfied so it values no authority, but what is in its own favour. For in a few years, the heavy misfortune of William's captivity, and the rigorous hardships put upon him by the King of England gave Roger, who was still alive, another chance of recovering what ground he had lost, and bringing the Scottish church into full subjection to his see. The English historians tell us, that when William, according to the promise he had made to Henry in Normandy, waited on him at York, "to do homage for the kingdom of Scotland, and land after the custom of other homagers," a de-

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putation from the clergy did at the same time LETTER XVIII.  
 consent and grant that the church of England should have that superiority and jurisdiction over the church of Scotland, which in right she ought to have, and that they would never oppose her just privileges and pre-eminencies: To which agreement the rest of the Bishops and clergy were to give the same security." Collier, b. v. p. 383.  
 Yet the next year, in a meeting at Northampton, to which William went, attended by most of the Bishops and Abbots in Scotland, when Henry required these Prelates, in virtue of the oath of allegiance they had sworn to him, to make due acknowledgement of subjection to the church of England, as had been customarily done in the reigns of his predecessors, they made answer that they had never professed any subjection to the church of England, neither were they obliged to make any such acknowledgement." And here, says Collier, the misunderstanding between the English Archbishops themselves was of great service to the Scottish Prelates. For Richard of Canterbury wishing to draw the Scottish church into a dependence upon his see, and failing in his design, did what he could to disappoint Roger of York also, and with this view he prevailed with Henry to dismiss the Scottish Bishops without making the required submission.\* This

\* The proceedings at Northampton clearly discover the tenor of the letter, said to have been written to Pope Alexander by William, and transmitted by the Pope to the Archbishop and Chapter of York, in which William is made to acknowledge, that the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of York did extend over Scotland, and to aver that he himself had sworn to support it.—*Walsley's Scots Hist. Lib. App. p. 138.* At the same place will be found, a testimony in favour of Canterbury against York, fa-



**LETTER** is the English account: But our own writers re  
**XVIII.** late it with some difference of circumstances.

Boeth.  
 lib. xiii.  
 Spotswood,  
 b. ii. p. 38.  
 Crawford,  
 Offic. of  
 State,  
 Leslie,  
 lib. vi. in  
 reg. 93, &c.

They say, the Scotch clergy were addressed by the Pope's Legate, who laboured hard to persuade them to yield to the English church, and in particular to accept such a great and prudent Prelate as the Archbishop of York was, for their Metropolitan: And that, when all the Bishops for fear were silent, Dr. Gilbert Murray, a young Canon of the diocese of Moray, did in a long and elaborate speech confute all the Legate's arguments, and protested, in the name of his church that she might be left free to her original independence. Upon which the claimants desisted from their proposal, and Dr. Murray, in reward of his zeal, was upon his return made Bishop of Caithness, and afterwards chancellor of the kingdom. Bishop Leslie goes further in his character of Mr. Murray, and says that, besides his brave appearance in defence of his church, he was a man of singular piety, and famous for working miracles both alive and dead, on which account "summa veneratione inter divos relatum," "a multis colebatur," he was sainted and devoutly worshipped by many.

From this time we hear little more of the English claim. The defences so oft produced on the Scottish side had exposed the fallacy of it, and the continued opposition made to it, had shewn how impossible it would be to establish it. Convinced of this, Pope Clement III. issued another bull of exemption in favour of our church

fabricated in the southern mint. The Forgers of England, and the Forgers of all England were equally industrious; as Sir David Dalrymple, alluding to the titles of the two Primaries wittily observes, in his *Annals of Scotland*, Vol. I. p. 121.

which

which was confirmed, out of personal regard to **LETTER**  
 King William, by the succeeding Popes Celestine **XVIII.**  
 and Innocent, expressly annulling the Archbishop  
 of York's pretensions, and taking the Scottish  
 church under the immediate protection of the  
 holy see. But whether this exchange was ad-  
 vantageous, or not, to our church, either in spi-  
 rituals or temporals, is a question to which her  
 subsequent condition does not enable us to give  
 a distinct answer. Only it appears to have been  
 more for the Pope's advantage, both as to power  
 and wealth, than our subjection to York would have  
 been. But our church herself gained nothing by the  
 bargain, being, as our vulgar proverb says, "tak-  
 en out of the fire, and thrown among the em-  
 bers." For whereas, if the Archbishop of York  
 had succeeded in his claim, any contendable cause  
 about elections or such matters of litigation would  
 in consequence of the metropolitical plan, have  
 been in the first instance carried before him, which  
 no doubt would have been inconvenient enough,  
 now every thing of that kind was directly carried  
 to Rome, and the Popes took the decision of all  
 to their own hands, not as Popes only, or  
 heads of the universal church, but as Metropo-  
 litans of the particular church of Scotland. The  
 consequence was, that our Bishops were every now  
 and then summoned to Rome, either to have their  
 elections confirmed, and their consecrations per-  
 formed by the Pope himself, or to answer any  
 charge, however frivolous, that might be brought  
 against them. This proved a greater inconveni-  
 ence than what Dr. Murray had objected to the  
 Archbishop of York's claim, which he supposed,  
 and justly too, could not be safely put in execu-  
 tion when there happened to be war between the  
 two

LETTER XVIII. two kingdoms: For the journeying to Rome was exposed to still greater risk in this way, as the several states thro' which the travellers were obliged to pass, were almost constantly at war either with the Popes, or with one another. And accordingly we read, that oft times our Bishops were detained many years from home, upon these troublesome and unnecessary errands, and frequently died either at Rome, or upon the road to or from it.

In a word, our church by these means was on the whole in a most perplexed and uneasy situation. The Archbishop of York's demand was certainly, in any case, humiliating as well as unjust, and in some cases might have been highly detrimental. But the Pope's exemption however pleasing in the sound at first, and carrying a greater shew of honour and dignity, turned out in the end to be far more burdensome and added prodigiously to the hardships, which was speciously held forth to relieve. Had our church stood to the observation which Dr. Murray made in his speech at Northampton, "that we had wise and learned Prelates among ourselves, capable to determine any controversy, and tho' they should be deficient, we had a good and religious King, who was able to keep all things in frame and order, so that we had no necessity of any stranger to be set over us." Had this observation, I say, been, under proper regulations, duly attended to, all had been well and the church of Scotland could have been governed within herself, on a plan more resembling the primitive model, and more conducive to her own interests, than any thing she ever experienced from the Pope, or his pretended favours to her.

have laid all this affair together, that we might have a view of it at one glance; as it is a matter of such general concern to the honour both of our church and nation, and may be of use, we go along, to account for the several struggles that from time to time were made to throw off the arbitrary and galling yoke.

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XVIII.

The next year after this council at Northampton, King William founded the sumptuous abbey A.D. 1178.

at Aberbrothock in Angus, to the memory of Thomas Becket late Archbishop of Canterbury, whom the Pope had canonized some years before.

This is one of the saints, and a great one too, in the Romish Kalendar, whose title to such a place cannot but be questioned by every one who is the least acquainted with his history. He had

been a great favourite with, and chancellor to Henry II. of England, who got him promoted to the see of Canterbury, hoping for that reason to find him more quiet and peaceable than some of his predecessors in that see had been. But no

man was the man seated on the Archiepiscopal throne, than he began to contend with the king about what he called the rights of the church, particularly about exempting the clergy from being tried in the King's courts for felony or any capital crime whatever, alledging that degradation was sufficient punishment to a clergyman for any offence. This and such like stretch-

ing of privilege, in contempt of the King's royal authority, obliged Henry to summon a convention of the lords spiritual and temporal at Clarendon, where the constitutions then enacted, the encroachments of the church upon the state were limited, and the boundaries between the two powers in some measure ascertained. To these constitutions

all



**LETTER** all the Bishops, and Becket at the head of them  
**XVIII.** tho' with some reluctance, agreed. But soon af-  
 ter, under a pretence of conscience, Becket re-  
 tracted all his former concessions, and fearing a  
 storm, got abroad to France, where he continued  
 six years, inflaming the Pope and the neighbour-  
 ing Kings as much as he could against his own  
 Sovereign and benefactor. At last Henry found  
 it necessary, for the sake of peace and his own ease,  
 to come to terms with him, and take him into  
 favour again. On which he returned to Eng-  
 land in triumph, where once more, by his rough  
 behaviour to some of his brethren Bishops who  
 had stood for the King, he raised such an odium  
 against himself, that upon some passionate ex-  
 pressions which dropped from Henry, who was then  
 in Normandy, four gentlemen of his household  
 went over to Canterbury, and murdered Becket  
 at Vespers before the altar, on the 29th of De-  
 cember in the year 1170.

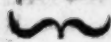
Such was the tragical end of a man, who, as  
 far as we know of him, had nothing to recom-  
 mend him but pride and ambition, and an ob-  
 stinate stiffness in defence of rights, which the  
 church for a long time knew nothing of, and was  
 no way essential either to her being or well-being.  
 I am far from approving the murder, or vindic-  
 ating the murderers. It was certainly a damnable  
 crime, and attended with most aggravating cir-  
 cumstances. But the man's being murdered  
 makes him neither saint nor martyr. It was  
 no article of faith, no point of doctrine, no spiri-  
 tual right of the church, which he suffered for.  
 That needs be said of his death is, that it was  
 the deed of a rash combination of barbarous villains  
 against a turbulent and domineering Prelate.

such is the martyrdom of St. Thomas Becket, LETTER XVIII.  
 which makes so flaming a figure in the Roman Martyrology, and about which there are not a few surprising things to be observed.

What shall we think, for instance, of the behaviour of Pope Alexander, Becket's great friend and supporter, who, when he had these wretches in his hands, did not inflict the punishment on them, which the law of God expressly required for such a wilful and sacrilegious murder, but sent them, by way of penance, to Jerusalem, where they died in peace? What shall we think of the French King's coming in pilgrimage to Becket's tomb, and paying his devotions to the memory of a man, with whom he himself had been offended for his pride and saucy behaviour, and who, he could not but know, had acted beyond either the character or duty of a christian bishop? The conduct of Henry himself too, upon the occasion, is something unaccountable, and even, if I durst say it, most unworthy. To see a King of his spirit and magnanimity in other matters, taking a solemn oath that he knew nothing of the murder, and yet submitting to be scourged for it by the Monks of Canterbury, which was a much severer penance, every thing considered, than the Pope imposed on the actual murderers, presents a scene to us of so astonishing a mixture, that one is at a loss whether most to reprobate the uncharacteristick meanness of the one party, or the abominable insolence of the other. And to come nearer to the point which brought this piece of English history before us, our own King William's dedicating a religious edifice to this man's memory, under favour be it spoken, seems to be no great honour to his own: And

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LETTER  
XVIII.

many, who are ready to admire his other valuable accomplishments, will be surprized, if not grieved to find him taking such a public and sacred notice of one, whose only merit was his haughtily endeavouring to throw down the crowns of kings at the foot of the papal throne.

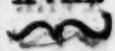
But what, if after all, there should be more of state-policy than real devotion, in all the honours paid to Becket at this time by these three powerful Kings? Henry himself, for all his prowess might be afraid of the Pope's resentment, which was more terrible in those days than we can well conceive now, and might think it prudent at least, if not necessary, to come down even to the mortifying degree of humility, in order to stop the torrent which he saw swelling against him. The King of France was jealous of Henry's greatness, which he had more than once felt the effects of, and with a view to pique such a rival might profess a greater veneration for Becket than otherwise he would have thought of. And the same motive perhaps, joined to and heightened by the remembrance of Henry's ungenerous usage might have induced our King to take this method of expressing his sense of it, as from the other parts of his character we can hardly suppose him really influenced by a hearty approbation of Becket's conduct. In a word, the lame excuse which Mr. Collier offers for Becket, "that the most exceptionable parts of his character may be said to have been more the fault of the age than of the man," may be applied to all the other three. Tho' still, it is but what I have called it, a lame excuse at best. For what is it that makes the faults of an age, but the faults of the men who live in it, and how should a faulty age be reformed, if the men who live in it

always

always humour and follow the faults of it? The faultiness of the age therefore could be no sound excuse for Becket, in the character he was clothed with, of a messenger of the Prince of peace: And as little can any good excuse be made for the Kings of those days going such unbecoming and pernicious lengths to shew their regard for him; much less can a church be excused which pretends to make a saint of him, and teaches her members to trust to his intercession, even to an amazing degree of preference above the true and only Intercessor; if the vast superiority of devotional offerings at Becket's shrine for many years may be admitted in testimony of such preference.

Soon after this instance of extraordinary respect to a man who had been so zealous for the Pope and the Church, against the King of England, our King William had an interference with them both on his own account, and by his steadiness in his own cause carried his point. The See of St. Andrews falling void, the King recommended to the convent Hugh, one of his chaplains, to be chosen Bishop. But they taking another course elected the Archdeacon Scott. This the King opposed, swearing by his usual oath, that Scott should not enjoy the place, and ordered the Canons to proceed to a new election, which they did, and chose Hugh. Upon this Scott went to Rome, and got the Pope to send a Legate into Scotland, who confirmed the first election, and made Matthew Bishop of Aberdeen to consecrate Scott on Trinity Sunday in the year 1178. Yet the King still stood out, notwithstanding the Pope's admonitory letter; and to testify his displeasure the more, he confiscated the revenues of the see, and banished Scott and all his adherents. The Pope

LETTER  
XVIII.



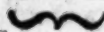


**LETTER** hearing of this, threatened to put the kingdom  
**XVIII.** under an interdict. But Scott, who had gone  
 to Rome a second time for safety, fell down at  
 the Pope's feet, and besought him not to proceed  
 to that rigour, saying, "that he had much rather  
 renounce his dignity, than that so many  
 christian souls should for ought that concerned  
 him be deprived of spiritual benefits." This  
 softened the Pope, and coming to the King's ears,  
 so reconciled him to Scott, that he offered him  
 the then vacant bishoprick of Dunkeld, which the  
 good man with the Pope's leave accepted, and  
 so the affair was peaceably adjusted. It is said  
 that Hugh went to Rome to make up his peace,  
 and receive consecration, but died on his return  
 ten years after his election; so long had the  
 contest been in agitation, and the first see in the  
 kingdom vacant all the time.

Here we have a parallel to the affair of Becket in every particular, except the different behaviour of the two Prelates who were principally concerned. We see a King as obstinate in his own way as Henry was, and no more obsequious to the Pope's determination than he had been.— We see a Pope as ready with his fulminations as Becket's Popes were, and every thing tending to such another fatal rupture. But in the present instance we see a Bishop of our own, sensible indeed of the manifest wrong done him, but like a truly christian Prelate, studying peace more than dignity, and the good of souls beyond any private consideration. Had Becket behaved in such a quiet and peaceable manner, we probably should not have heard of his Saintship: Or had our countryman acted the part that Becket did, there might have been pilgrimages at his tomb, and

and abbeys erected to his memory. Which of LETTER **XVIII.**  
 the two characters was most conformable to the Evangelical standard, can bear no dispute. And the comparison shews that, contrary to Mr. Collier's apology, the exceptionable parts of Becket's conduct were the faults of the man as much as of the age, since the age produced, and that too at no great distance of either time or place, a man of a quite different disposition, and who by his condescension had the happiness both to mollify an enraged Pope, and pacify an obstinate King.

But this is not the only laudable part of this good Bishop's character: For after he had accepted the bishoprick of Dunkeld, which in all respects was far inferior to St. Andrews, when he found that the diocese was rather too large, and that the people in the mountainous parts of it, spoke the Erse language only, he made proper application to have the diocese divided, and an Episcopal see erected in Argyle for the benefit of these parts, of which Evaldus, one of his chaplains, who spoke Erse, was made the first Bishop about the year 1200. It is said, that when he made his proposal to the Pope of dividing the diocese, and splitting the revenue, the Pope should say, "It is the study of others to enlarge their bounds and livings, not caring how it goeth with the people, but here is one who requesteth that his benefice may be parted in two: O how few Bishops are now in the christian world so disposed!" Would Archbishop Becket have done so? Or do we read of any of the Popes themselves that ever did so? Yet Becket is a saint, and our good humble Bishop of Dunkeld stands in the list of his brethren without the least mark of distinction.

**LETTER XVIII.**  stinction. The reason is obvious: It was the Pope who made saints in those days, and the English Primate had contributed more to exalt the Pope's grandeur than our Bishop did, which appears to have been the only cause that the one is so much dignified more than the other. I could not pass over the account we have of Bishop Scott of Durham, without making these reflections upon it, to shew that the age, faulty as it was, had still some exemplary men in it, who knew their duty, and were a credit to their function.

In this King's reign the Popes got a new addition to their power, which lasted for some time and laid a foundation for the extensive claim that continued to make so long after. The croisades which had been preparing for several years in their way to the Holy land, turned their arms against the Greek Emperor Alexius, and taking advantage of the divisions that happened in the Imperial family, they laid siege to Constantinople and took it by storm on the twelfth of April in the year 1204, committing the most atrocious barbarities, as Nicetas a Greek historian, who suffered under them, testifies, and as the Roman writers themselves, with all their extenuations, are forced to acknowledge. Upon this unjust conquest, the Latins chose Baldwin Earl of Flanders for Emperor, and made one Morosini a Venetian Patriarch under the Pope's obedience, which seems to have been the principal design of the whole expedition. For wherever they extended the usurpation, they turned all the Greeks out of the churches, and filled them with Latin clergy, who readily came under the same yoke of jurisdiction to the Pope, which had so long prevailed in the West. And the Pope who then sat at the helm

Innocent

Innocent III. was one who well knew both how to lay schemes of this kind, and to improve every advantage for the aggrandizing of his see, and enriching of his friends. But this jumble of disorder and confusion was of no very long duration: For in less than sixty years, Michael Palæologus, a brave Grecian, and related to the Imperial family, after many struggles with various success, at last totally expelled the Latin invaders, and mounting the throne himself, restored the constitution both in church and state, tho' miserably weakened and shattered by this desolating interruption, which, historians have observed, was almost the first thing that paved the way for the total destruction of that once flourishing empire by the Turks about two hundred years after. Such were the effects of Papal ambition, and such, among many others, were the consequences of these pretendedly sacred expeditions, which were almost wholly under the Pope's direction, and evidently designed, as this very instance shews, to increase his power and influence.

But to return to our own country: During the reign of William we have an account of no less than four national councils held in it. The first at Edinburgh in the year 1177, by the Cardinal Priest and Legate Vivian or Winian, of whom the Scotch chronicon says, "he came into Scotland, trampling and crushing every thing, clever at taking and not slack at plundering, from whence he went to Ireland to hold a council there, and having finished his business, he returned to Scotland, and calling the Scottish Prelates together at Edinburgh, he held a council, in which many antient Canons were

"renew-



LETTER XVIII. "renewed, and new ones enacted:" But where these Canons were we are not told. The next council was held at Perth in December 1201, by the Cardinal Legate John de Salerno, and lasted three days, when there were many Canons made of which we know only of these two, 1. "That they who had received orders upon Sunday should be removed from the service of the altar. 2. That every Saturday from twelve o'clock of the day should be kept as holiday, by abstaining from work till Monday morning." What the reason of this first Canon could have been is not easy to discover, as certainly the sacredness of the day provided for by the other Canon could be no way impaired by performing such solemn ministrations, as ordination is, upon it. In April 1206 we meet with a third council at Perth, called in the original writ Synodus generalis. The fourth council in this reign was at Perth too in 1212, and was held by William Malvoisin Bishop of St. Andrews, Walter Bishop of Glasgow, and the other Bishops, without the presence of a Legate at the head of them. At this meeting the Pope's orders were published for preparing up an expedition to the Holy land: Upon which, says my author, "great numbers of ranks of clergy throughout Scotland, Regular as well Seculars, took the cross, but very few of the rich or great men of the kingdom." Two years after this council was held, King William died, in the seventy second year of his age and forty ninth of his reign.

Lib. viii.  
cap. 25.

Boece, lib.  
xiii.

Crit. Essay,  
p. 589.

Scotichron.  
l.viii. c. 78.

I am, &c.

## L E T T E R    X I X .

*Accession of Alexander II.—Council of Lateran  
held at Rome, in which were three Scottish Bi-  
shops—Canon made in Favour of Transubstan-  
tiation—Historical Account of that Doctrine.*

ON the death of William, his son Alexander II. A.D. 1214,  
a youth of only sixteen years of age, ascend-  
ed the throne. In the second year of his reign,  
Pope Innocent III. issued a general summons to all  
the prelates of Christendom, to attend a general  
council to be held by him at Rome, for the refor-  
mation of abuses, and recovery of the Holy Land.  
Accordingly the council met in the year 1215,  
and is called the General Council of Lateran, con-  
sisting of 412 Bishops, among whom were three  
from our church, viz. the Bishops of Glasgow,  
Moray, and Caithness. But here the old form of  
general councils was changed: For whereas, in  
these meetings of old, where the Pope's Legates  
were present, and as the Romanists pretend, al-  
ways presided, every point was debated and can-  
onised in public, before any canon was formed up-  
on it, in this council, as the learned Du Pin  
N n assures

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Eccl. Hist.  
cent. 13.  
p. 95.

assures us, a number of canons which had been drawn up by the Pope and his Courtiers before hand, were presented by him to the Bishops and their silence, without entering, or being allowed to enter, into any debate about them, was taken for approbation, altho' it is acknowledged that many of them were disliked by the Bishops and looked upon as very burdensome and hard to be born.

Now as our church was represented in this council, where, for the first time, some sort of sanction was given to one of the capital and discriminating articles of the present Romish faith, the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, which is the best but a harsh doctrine, expressed by a harsh word, it may be proper to take a summary view of this part of the Popish Creed, from its first appearance in the church of Rome, to the era of its establishment in this council. What the primitive faith on this head was, is evident to any one who has read the scriptures, and but glanced at the primitive writings. The old heretics, who so much infested the church in these first ages, were chiefly employed in combating the unity of the divine nature, and the incarnation of Christ. The eucharistic institution was not particularly touched at by them. For tho' their monstrous errors in other things led them into some strange conceits about the way and manner of the external administration, yet they never meddled with the doctrinal part, or vented any peculiarities about the nature or design of the institution. Some of them indeed, (of whom St. Ignatius speaks in his epistle to the church of Smyrna) "abstain from the Eucharist altogether, because they do not believe it to be the flesh of our Saviour"

Christ :” And the reason they went upon, LETTER XIX. according to their principles, was solid enough, because that tribe of them did not believe that Christ had flesh. So that the martyr’s words, which the Romanists would fain wrest to their own sense, say nothing for either side of the question; as these men who denied the existence of Christ’s flesh, could not admit any thing relative to it either in reality or figure.

The Greek Fathers in process of time began, in their homilies and oratorical discourses, to speak in a rapturous style of this sublime mystery, and to make use of the strongest expressions, which the copiousness of their language furnished them with, to set it off, and recommend it to the devotion of Christians. But in their argumentative disputations, when they introduced it by way of comparison, to illustrate other points, (for they never disputed about it of set purpose) we find them more cautious and reserved in their phraseology, without any of these high flights of hyperbole, which they had used in their popular exhortations. This may be seen, among many other instances, in Theodoret’s admired Dialogues with the Eucharistians, who maintained the confusion of the two natures in Christ, or as we might call it, a transubstantiation of the humanity into the divinity, and against whom that learned father argues from the nature of the conversion in the Eucharist, which he makes a parallel to the other case. The same is observable in the famous letter of St. Chrysostom to the Monk Cæsarius, against the Apollinarians, who had led the way to the Eucharistians : Which letter was found in the Duke of Tuscany’s library, by Emeric Bigot, a learned Frenchman of the last century, who designed to



LETTER have published it entire, but because of a remarkable  
 XIX. passage in it about the Eucharist, which directly against transubstantiation, was obliged by orders of the Sorbonne, to suppress that passage, till Dr Wake, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, lighted on it, and sent it abroad into the world. From these and such like authorities, we may learn how this doctrine stood among the Greeks.

In the Latin church the same observation will hold, as is clear from the elaborate works of Pope Gelasius about the end of the fifth century against the Eutychians, where he makes use of the same comparison, and argues in the same manner that the Greek Fathers had done in the controversy: Only with this general difference between the Greek and Latin writers, that in their pathetic discourses the Latins seem to be more cramped and confined in their expressions than the Greeks were, not because they had not such lofty conceptions of that mystery as the Greeks had, but because the defectiveness of their language did not afford such high phrases to convey their ideas in. But I needed not to have dwelt so long upon this point: For it is acknowledged by the Romanists themselves, by their two great Cardinals, for instance, Bellarmine and Peron, and by the two famous Jesuits Valencia and Vasquez, that for the first seven hundred years there was no dispute in the church about the Eucharist. The first alteration of style on this subject in the Greek church, may be dated from the beginning of the controversy in it about images, towards the middle of the eighth century. About this affair a synod of three hundred and thirty eight Bishops from all the parts of the East

met at Constantinople in the year 754, where to combat the then appearing superstition in favour of artificial images, these Fathers call the Eucharistic oblation "the true image of Christ," and in consequence of this declare, that sincere Christians need seek no other. This was a home argument against the opposite party: And therefore it was immediately attacked by the well-known John Damascene, Priest of the Monastery of St. Sabas in Palestine, who in his great work *Of the Orthodox Faith*, peremptorily maintains that the elements after consecration are "the very deified body of our Lord," and endeavours to answer all the objections which, he knew, would be brought from the old Fathers, particularly from St. Basil's liturgy, against his assertion. This was introducing the doctrine with some show of authority, as Damascene was a man of reputation and character in these parts. Accordingly in the year 787 when the second Nicene council met to support the image-worship which had been condemned thirty three years before, they laid hold of this assertion of Damascene's and concluded, that the consecrated elements are not the image of Christ, but his very body and his very blood." It was their zeal for the image-worship (to establish which indeed was the main design of that assembly) that drove them into this declaration, as they had no other way to carry the thrust aimed at it by the former council, but boldly to overthrow their doctrine by an opposite conclusion. Yet all the while, neither Damascene nor this Nicene meeting say any thing to establish the modern transubstantiation. For not to dispute their quotations with them, nor to insist upon the many appearances of self-

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self-contradiction which they run into, the most that can be made out of all their long declamation is only "a sort of union between the bread remaining in its own substance and the Deity of the word, by which union it becomes properly divine bread, and is made the body of Christ, by assumption and indwelling of his spirit." In consequence of which we find none of the subsequent Greek writers coming up to the present style of the church of Rome, nor yet adhering to the language of their own old Fathers, but contenting themselves with the confused and peculiar way that this Nicene, which they call their seventh general council, had led them into. Examples of this have been again and again produced : But there is one that settles the point beyond contradiction : And it is the answer which the Patriarch of Constantinople Jeremias gave to the questions proposed to the Greeks by the Cardinal of Guise in 1563, and is in these terms, "We believe and confess that the bread is so changed into the body, and the wine so changed into the blood of Christ, that neither the bread, nor the accidents of the substance of it remain, but are transelemented into a divine substance." Which declaration cannot be reconciled with transubstantiation, tho' then established ; as accidents are not capable of it, nor does the church of Rome herself require it : But let us see what impropriety of sentiment the latter Greeks were driven to, by their supposing a change of accidents into a substance, which is the greatest of all philosophic absurdities.

Now as the corruption of doctrine among the Greeks was occasioned by their departing from the language of their forefathers, so among the

Latins

Latins the same cause produced the same effect, LETTER  
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 more gradually indeed with them than with the  
 Greeks, but, to make up for that, with a great  
 deal of more noise. The decree of the second  
 council of Nice about images being brought in-  
 to the West under the Pope's patronage, imme-  
 diately raised a flame. The Emperor Charle-  
 magne made a book be written on purpose, and  
 published the sentence of a Western council on  
 the subject: In both which it appears, that the  
 writer's ardour against the Greeks has occasioned  
 some expressions which, however capable of a  
 good sense, certainly carry a strange sound, and  
 seem either to mistake or confound the meaning  
 of his adversaries: And yet, notwithstanding of  
 all the use which the Romanists would be mak-  
 ing of these writings, in support of their Eucha-  
 ristic scheme, there is nothing in them that can  
 even be forced so much as to imply transubstan-  
 tiation. For while on the one hand they deny  
 the Eucharist to be "an image," yet they no  
 where go the length of calling it "properly," the  
 body of Christ, but for the most part add the  
 word "sacrament or mystery" to the description.  
 However, from this we see that the contention  
 about image-worship, in defence of it in the East,  
 and in condemnation of it in the West, has been  
 the original source of the change, if not of doc-  
 trine, yet of style in both East and West about  
 the Eucharistic institution. Yet, as I said, it is  
 only in sound that hitherto we have seen any  
 thing like a change in the West. But this open-  
 ed a door to greater alterations. For about  
 thirty years or so, after the publication of the  
 Caroline books, Paschasius Radbert, first Monk  
 and then Abbot of Corbie near Amiens, wrote his  
 book

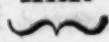


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book "Of the body and blood of the Lord," in which he lays down these three positions: "That the Eucharist is the true body and true blood of Jesus Christ: That the substance of the bread and wine does not remain after consecration; and, that it is the same body which was born of the Virgin." The Romanists allow that this Paschasius was the first who distinctly and of purpose delivered what they call the Catholic Doctrine of the Eucharist, and they are all full in his praises upon that account. But his doctrine did not pass without contradiction even in his own day. For it was soon combated by Amalarius Archdeacon of Tryers, by Rabanus Maurus Archbishop of Mentz, by Heribold Bishop of Auxerre, and sundry others, men of as great note and esteem for learning and piety as himself. A renowned philosopher from these Northern isles, a John Scott Erigena, whose writers differ about whether he was a Scotchman or an Irishman, appeared keenly against Paschasius, and opposed his doctrine with great acuteness. For which reason, notwithstanding of his great parts and established fame, which made him an honour to any country, and procured him the particular esteem of the great English Monarch Alfred, he is branded with heresy by the bigotted Romanists of latter days. Yet our own Bishop Leslie, who was as much attached to the doctrine of his church as any of them, but possessed of more candour than most of them, in his history of Scotland which he wrote at Rome under the Pope's eye, speaks otherwise of this Scotus, and expressly says that, "by the Pope's authority the King Alfred caused him to be numbered among Christ's martyrs, and erected a noble monument

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Lord, for him in the abbey of Malmſbury:" Which LETTER  
 ſhews that at that time he was in great repute XIX.  
 even in Rome, and in Biſhop Leſlie's opinion,   
 whatever Baronius, Creſſy, and the reſt of them De Geſt.  
 may have afterwards ſaid to the contrary. Scot. lib. v.  
 reg. 74.

But of all the antagoniſts whom the Paſchaſian  
 party had to encounter, there is none more con-  
 ſpicuous, or who gave them more trouble, than  
 Ratram, or Bertram, Abbot of Orbais, whoſe  
 book on the ſubject, dedicated to the Emperor  
 Charles the Bald, is ſo clear and pointed againſt  
 the modern faith of the Romiſh church in this  
 article, that ſome of them have attempted to give  
 it out as forged by the Swiſs Reformer Oecolam-  
 pius. This new attempt, therefore, of Paſcha-  
 ſius cannot as yet be called the doctrine of the ca-  
 tholic church, as it was oppoſed by ſo many  
 writers of repute, who all lived and died even in  
 the Romiſh communion: And tho' it had met  
 with no oppoſition, it would hardly be fair to  
 transfer tranſubſtantiation from it. For amidſt all  
 the tendency he ſeems to have that way, he fre-  
 quently calls the Eucharift the "myſtical body and  
 blood of Chriſt, true fleſh myſtically, fleſh made  
 not by a ſubſtantial converſion, but by the  
 Monarch's aſſumption of the word, &c." and he expreſſly  
 denies what the church of Rome now as expreſſly  
 affirms, that there is any thing of miracle in it.  
 In a word, from the writings of thoſe times, upon  
 both ſides, we find the currency of undisputed  
 belief to have been, according to the old begin-  
 ning of the Canon of the Maſs, that "in the very  
 moment of the conſecration, at the prayer of  
 the prieſt, the oblation is carried by angels to  
 the altar on high, that is, Chriſt himſelf, who  
 is both altar and ſacrifice, and that by touch-

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ing of him, it is made one body with him: Words which necessarily infer an union, not identity, of the Eucharist with the body of Christ and come nearer to express a consubstantiation than any thing else.

Thus matters stood thro' the tenth century which Baronius emphatically calls "an age of iron and lead," and people spoke and wrote upon this mystery, as devotion or superstition led them. In the next age, appeared Berengarius Archdeacon of Angers, who in some measure revived the primitive doctrine, and in a letter to Lanfranc, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury defends John Scott from the charge of heresy for writing against Pachasius. This letter was sent to Rome, where it was so ill thought of, that in one council there, and in another at Verceil both held by Pope Leo IX. in the year 1050 Berengarius, tho' absent and unheard, was condemned as an heretic. Five years after this he was cited to a council at Tours under Victor II. where it is said he was forced to abjure his opinion. Yet in the year 1059 Pope Nicholas II. summoned him to Rome, and obliged him to sign a recantation, which was penned by the Cardinal Humbert, and afterwards inserted into the Canon-law, but was so excessive and hyperbolic that the *Glossa Decreti* declares it to be more dangerous than the heresy itself. However he took courage again, and retracted his former recantation, protesting against the violent methods that had been used with him. This made Gregory VII. call a fifth council about this business at Rome in the year 1078, in which he was again driven to subscribe another form of confession, declaring that "the bread and wine upon the

tar are, by the mysterious operation of the LETTER  
 consecration, and by the words of our Savi- XIX.  
 our, substantially changed into the true, pro-  
 per, and quickening body and blood of Jesus  
 Christ, not only figuratively and sacramentally,  
 but truly, properly and substantially." But  
 all these rigours could not convince, tho' they  
 did in some measure silence him: For he died in  
 his old belief, and in church communion about  
 ten years after, and is well spoken of after all by  
 some considerable writers of these times. I do  
 not approve of the man's variable conduct on  
 the one hand, nor of the unrelenting severities of  
 his opponents on the other: Only I think it is  
 evident from his history, that the Paschasian doc-  
 trine had not been universally received even in  
 his day, since neither such learned defenders of  
 it as Lanfranc of Canterbury, nor such powerful  
 abettors of it as even the fiery Gregory VII.  
 could either by persuasion or terror get one poor  
 clergyman to be silent about it.

However, all this was a paving the way for what  
 followed: For about the middle of the next cen-  
 tury, and fifty years or so after this contest, a Stephen  
 Bishop of Autun, emboldened by the gradual ap-  
 proaches made towards a full description, in the  
 many encounters with Berengarius, adventured, in  
 his book *Of the Sacrament of the Altar*, to speak of  
 "transubstantiating the bread and wine into the ch. 13, 14  
 "body and blood of our Saviour." And this, by  
 the testimony of all writers, is the first time that this  
 important and distinguishing vocable of transub-  
 stantiation made its public appearance, tho' it was  
 not, for some time at least, much made use of  
 by other writers. Yet in the continuation of  
 Fordun by Abbot Bower, we meet with it in an



LETTER extract which he gives us from an old book  
 XIX. written by Joceline a Monk of Furnes, and dedi-  
 cated to our King William, where we find these  
 words, "S. Waldeve one day celebrating mass  
 " when elevating the host in the midst of the  
 " service, he had uttered the effective sacramen-  
 " tal words by which the bread is transubstantiated  
 " into the body and the wine into the blood  
 " he found in his hands a little infant, &c." *Scotichron.*  
*l. vi. c. 1.* these be Joceline's own words, as I cannot be  
 sure, not having seen his performance but in  
 Bower's copy, it would seem that Stephen of  
 Autun's new coined phrase had gained ground  
 and wrought itself into vogue, by means of one  
 of those infantile apparitions which the new doc-  
 trine, we are told by others of its favourers, was  
 so often in its early days attended with. How-  
 ever the sound of it so mightily pleased Pope In-  
 nocent III. that he inserted it into the very first  
 of the seventy Canons which he proposed to the  
 council of Lateran, and in which he declared  
 that "the body and blood of our Saviour, in the  
 " sacrament of the altar, is truly contained  
 " under the species of bread and wine, the  
 " bread being by the divine omnipotence trans-  
 " substantiated into his body, and the wine into  
 " his blood, that, for completing the mysterious  
 " union between Christ and his church, we may  
 " receive his human nature, as he was pleased  
 " to take ours."

Here then at last is an appearance of the au-  
 thority of a general council to usher this long un-  
 heard-of doctrine into the world. Yet after all  
 we may say it is but an appearance. For, be-  
 sides that these Canons were only Innocent's own  
 fabrication, and not the voice of the council, as

served before, and tho' his nephew Gregory LETTER  
 who at some distance succeeded him, engros- XIX.  
 ed them into the body of the decretals which  
 published, yet he did it, not as the decrees of  
 the council, but as so many dictates of Innocent  
 to the council, contrary to his custom in every  
 other case: And they were never published as  
 the canons of the council of Lateran for more  
 than three hundred years, till Cochläus took up-  
 on him to do it in the year 1538, when Luther's  
 reformation was gaining ground. Therefore tho'  
 should be said that our church was represented  
 at this council, by the presence of three of her  
 bishops, it will not follow, that the doctrines esta-  
 blished in these canons were at that time, or to  
 afterwards the doctrines of our church, upon  
 the footing of a general council's authority, since  
 they were not the council's joint production, and  
 not declarative of either the present belief, or  
 future consent of the Scottish church.  
 It has been said, I know, that the pretended  
 general council of Florence under Pope Eugene  
 IV. in the year 1439 made the same decision in  
 their *Instruction to the Armenians*: But over and  
 above the former objection holding here, of this  
*Instruction* being the single work of the Pope, and  
 not of the council jointly, it is certain that there  
 is not the least mention of the word transubstan-  
 tiation in it, tho' we acknowledge that the sense  
 of it is fully enough expressed. We own too  
 that this canon of Pope Innocent introduced some  
 new practices, as consequential to the doctrine  
 which he designed to establish: For Honorius,  
 who immediately succeeded him, appointed a kind  
 of adoration to be paid to the host by a devout  
 bowing of the head, tho' he does not found this  
 upon

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XIX.

upon ancient practice, only commands the Priest to exhort the people to it. But Gregory IX. who came after him, went more resolutely to work and ordered a bell to be rung at the elevation to give notice of it, that all who heard the bell might fold their hands and kneel in worship, to God. Yet still the Lateran council's authority was not so universally acknowledged, but that there long subsisted differences and disputes as to the doctrine held forth in it; Nor did the Roman church herself receive the determination made at this time, with that submission which she professes to pay to former councils. So that, upon the whole, tho' most of the school divines have been willing to admit the authority of the Lateran Canons, out of veneration to their great Popes, Innocent II. who framed them, and Gregory IX. who inserted them into his decretals, yet to find a Roman Catholic council and held by the whole of them as general, which has settled transubstantiation as a necessary article of religious faith, we must come far down below the year 1215 for it, even to the year 1551, and to the thirteenth session of a council held at Trent on the eleventh day of October that year, by four legates from Rome, nine Archbishops, thirty Bishops, three Abbots, and one General, making in all fifty three persons, among whom there was not one person from the heretical country of Britain, and even from the Catholic kingdom of France only one single man, the Bishop of Vendun. Yet such a scanty and packed convention took upon them to impose this long contentious doctrine upon the world, and with the force of an Anathema too, by a Canon in these terms: "If any one shall say that in the holy sac-

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ment of the Eucharist the substance of the LETTER  
 bread and wine remains with the body and XIX.  
 blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, and shall deny  
 that wonderful and singular conversion of the  
 whole substance of the bread into the body,  
 and of the whole substance of the wine into  
 the blood, the species only of the bread and  
 wine remaining, which conversion the Catholic  
 church has for weighty reasons called *Transub-*  
*stantiation*, let him be Anathema." This was  
 the point for ever, and effectually stopping  
 the mouths of gainsayers. Yet tho' none of their  
 communion durst speak out after this solemn de-  
 nunciation at Trent, there were many of them  
 who grumbled not a little about it: And even  
 some of their principal writers are forced to con-  
 fess, that transubstantiation has no certain founda-  
 tion either in scripture or reason, but depends  
 entirely on tradition and ecclesiastical authority.  
 However, since this decision of their last general  
 council, it has become the distinguishing article  
 of their creed on the one hand, and the great  
 point of dispute to their antagonists on the other.  
 And in this condition I shall leave it; as it  
 would be a tedious matter, and quite foreign to  
 my design, to enter into the merits of a cause,  
 which for these two hundred years past, has made  
 so little noise in the christian world: Only I could  
 not omit offering this short historical deduction  
 of its conception and growth, as the sending it  
 abroad, in presence of some of our Scottish Bi-  
 shops, was among the first ecclesiastical transac-  
 tions of Alexander the Second's reign.

I am, &c.

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XX.

L E T T E R XX.

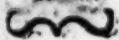
*The Kingdom of Scotland laid under an Interdict—Reflections on this cruel Invention, as practised by the Church of Rome—The Pope sends Legates into Scotland for raising Contributions—Holds a Council at Lyons, and deposes the Emperor—Authorises Provincial Councils in Scotland—Introduction of two new Monastic Orders into this Kingdom.*

A. D. 1217. **I**N the third year of this Alexander's reign, the church was thrown into great confusion, by the spiritual tyranny of the church of Rome, an instance of which had been exhibited some years before in the neighbouring kingdom. For John, that time King of England, by his bearing so hard, as was said, upon the church, had irritated Pope Innocent to such a degree, that he laid the King and all the kingdom under a general interdict, which continued for more than six years. Till at last the poor King found himself obliged for the safety of his crown, to come into the Pope's

Pope's terms, and made that scandalous surrender of his kingdom to the Legate Randulphus, which the church of Rome, tho' to her own disgrace, proudly boasts of to this day. However, the opposite party, with the assistance of Louis, son to the French King, kept up the quarrel: And our Alexander coming, in the mean time, to the throne, and being provoked by John's repeated inroads into Scotland, raised an army and attacked the enemy in their own country. Upon this the Pope, who now held himself as superior Lord of England, took the cause in hand, and by his Legate Gualo, a man who, the Popish historians themselves say, stuck at nothing for lucre, laid the whole kingdom of Scotland under an interdict. Tho' it had formerly been threatened, this is the first time we find our church actually abused by this late invention of papal cruelty; an invention indeed which none, who had the least regard for the spiritual good of mankind, would ever have thought of. Accordingly we meet with nothing of this kind in those early ages, when the church in general, and the Bishops of Rome in particular, were possessed of as much power as was necessary for the real interests of religion, or as ever they had any title to claim afterwards. Yet even at a time when the church was in a sufficient capacity of enforcing her sentences by the assistance of the temporal powers, we hear of no such rigour, exercised upon nations or national churches, tho' in those days there were Bishops in Rome, such as Julius and Innocent and Leo and Gregory, the first and best of their names, who were as well acquainted with the true rights either of the church in general, or their own see in particular, and as zealous in support of these rights

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rights as any of the same names that came after them. Nor were opportunities wanting for shewing such rigour, if it had been thought either necessary or lawful. There were christian Princes then, no better than in latter times. The first Kings of France, of the race of Clovis, were perpetually harassing one another, and filling the country with bloodshed and devastation. In the Saxon heptarchy of England, the case was no better, not only while they were heathens, but even after their respective conversions to christianity. The Popes indeed and the other Bishops did often on such occasions interfere, as mediators of peace, with their advice and fatherly intreaties and sometimes they succeeded, and sometimes not. But they never thought of judicial fulminations much less of disgracing their character, by the promiscuous injustice of general interdicts.

This wanton stretch of usurped authority was reserved for the ages of corruption and ignorance when the Popes were now arrived to the long desired height of grandeur and wealth, and the other governors of the church, by some means or other, humbled into a sad state of subjection and of what might properly enough be called slavish insignificancy. It was then that this new scheme of interdicting whole churches was first introduced. And a most impious, as well as pernicious scheme it certainly was. For by this sentence, as in the case before us, all public worship was prohibited, the churches were shut up, the administration of the sacraments was suspended in a word, there was an universal cessation of all sacred offices, as long as the tyrannical sentence lasted. And what was assigned as the cause of all this severity? Not any error in faith, or breach

of morality, or any of those transgressions, which might come properly under the cognizance of the church, and either deserved or incurred her censures: But what was then thought a more atrocious crime, affronting the Pope's personal pride, and touching what he pretended to call his worldly property. It seems our church had, as occasion offered, held communion with the English church, while King John and his friends lay under the Pope's excommunication; and now upon a change of measures, as is usual among Kings, our King had made war upon John, after the Pope and he were reconciled. \* This was a double provocation, and could not be put up with. So the interdict came out, and continued for some time, till by the mediation of friends, a peace was concluded between our Alexander and the young Henry who had lately succeeded his father John, on which the King was absolved, tho' much against the Legate's will, by the Bishops of York.

\* We may observe from this part of our history, that even at that time, and under all that cloud of darkness which had overpread the face of almost the whole christian church, our church was not so very blindly obsequious to the church of Rome as to be always led by her directions in every part of public procedure, when we see that even the Pope's formal excommunications did not always restrain her communion. Neither were these excommunications always regarded even in the church of England herself, which was then more at the Pope's beck than our church ever was: For we read of the renowned Robert Grosthead Bishop of Lincoln, who died in 1253, that at his departure there was a heavenly harmony heard, because he had been unjustly excommunicated by Pope Innocent IV. from which unjust sentence he appealed to the great judge, and expired with that appeal in his mouth. On which my author remarks, "Neither does it hinder tho' it be said, Whatsoever thou bindest, &c. for this is to be understood only, (clave non errante) if the judgment be not erroneous."

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LETTER and Durham. However the Legate, not to miss  
 XX. his market altogether, and under pretence that the  
 clergy were not included in that absolution, made  
 them pay well for the favour before they obtained it. On which Abbot Bower makes this sensible reflection, "Thus our clergy, fearing for  
 " their coats more than their consciences, submitted to a judge who was not their judge  
 " and were taught by this man's tyranny to stand up better in defence of their privileges and  
 " of the liberties of the kingdom in time to come. For by this relation it appears, that  
 " our then prelates had been either too indolent or quite ignorant of their rights, in yielding  
 " to such an extortion which, instead of a thousand marks which their standing out might have  
 " cost them, carried off from them, and with their public shame too, no less than ten thousand  
 " pounds." They did indeed complain to Rome, and had address enough to get the Legate censured: But the Pope and he divided the money between them, and the poor appellants came home again with empty purses.

Scotichron.  
 l. ix. c. 32.

Thus ended this vexatious affair, the first of the kind that had been heard of here: But it opened a door for the many encroachments of a like nature which our nation groaned under for more than three hundred years after: For although the Pope at this time, to make the clergy some amends for the loss of their money, and at the King's pressing suit, made a pretence of renewing their former privileges; yet within a year or so, he dispatched another Legate into Scotland to raise contributions for the Holy war, which were liberally granted both by clergy and laity, but whether thrown away by the Legate's ex-

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extravagance, or taken from him by robbers, as LETTER  
 the man gave out, never came into the Pope's XX.  
 offers. However, these demands began now to  
 so impudently frequent, and at the same time  
 intolerably oppressive, that the King's eyes  
 were opened, and he expressly prohibited the  
 Legate that was sent, whose name was Otho,  
 from entering the kingdom. He had had an in-  
 terview with him at York, whither he had gone  
 to wait on his brother in law Henry III. of Eng-  
 land: And when the Legate notified to him his  
 design of coming into Scotland, to collect the  
 tithes of the ecclesiastical revenues for the Pope's  
 service, the King told him, as Matthew Paris,  
 a co-temporary writer, informs us, "That he  
 did not think it necessary to invite a person  
 of his character into Scotland, neither would  
 he for his part give way to such uncustomary  
 methods, as the business of the church there  
 was, God be thanked, in a good enough pos-  
 ture: And therefore, if his eminence would  
 venture, he had better take care that no mis-  
 fortune happened: For, says the King, you  
 will be in danger of meeting with rugged  
 and sanguinary people upon the road, neither  
 is it in my power to check their fallies if they  
 fall upon you." When the Legate heard this, Collier,  
 altered his resolution, and returned with King b.v. p. 432.  
 Henry to London. Yet in two years after, the  
 King relaxed, for some reason or other, and gave  
 the same Legate his permission to come into Scot-  
 land, where he accordingly made his appearance.  
 However, this shews us that, either our Kings  
 had a just title to admit or prohibit these foreign  
 missionaries as they judged expedient, or that the  
 Legates, tho' fortified by the Pope's authority,  
 had

LETTER had not enough of primitive zeal to execute the  
 XX. mission in the face of danger or inconvenience.  
 But whatever title the Popes might pretend either from canon or custom, to this piece of prerogative, it certainly turned out, as they used to be the deepest wound that the old regular discipline of the church ever felt: Since it not only infringed the jurisdiction of the several Bishops in their respective charges, but likewise tended to make them contemptible in the people's eyes, by thus subjecting them to a man who notwithstanding his external pomp and adventurous designation of Cardinal, was for the most part only in Priest's, and many times but Deacon's orders. Which very encroachment, had there been nothing else faulty in the Roman system, was enough to have set all the national churches in the world against it, and put them out of conceit with a system which so pertinaciously authorised a practice so very derogatory to the honour and privileges of Apostolic Episcopacy.

In the year 1240 Pope Gregory IX. summoned all the Prelates of Christendom to a council at Rome: In obedience to which mandate, David Bishop of St. Andrews and William of Glasgow set out on their journey, but in travelling thro' Germany, were made prisoners by the Emperor Frederick, who suspected the Pope's design, and were obliged to return home, after sending proctors in their names to Rome another way. But the council did not hold; for the Pope died in the mean time. His successor Innocent IV. in prosecution of the standing quarrel with the Emperor, called another council to meet at Lyons in France in the year 1246, where the Emperor was formally deposed, his subjects

uted from their allegiance, and a solemn excom-  
 munication pronounced against all who should  
 or abet him in that character. Yet in spite  
 of this extraordinary and unchristian sentence, the  
 Emperor stood his ground, and kept the crown  
 on his head till he was taken off by poison five  
 years after. Such perseverance in bitterness by  
 many Popes against a Sovereign, whom every  
 prejudiced writer speaks well of, needs no com-  
 ment. This disloyal and uncharacteristic spirit  
 was blazed forth with particular vehemence about  
 two hundred years before, when Gregory VII. har-  
 assed the Emperor Henry IV. at such a strange and  
 unprecedented rate; and down to this time, thro' a  
 succession of nine Emperors and no fewer than  
 twenty four Popes, the war had been kept up, on  
 the Pope's side, with all the fire of rage and fury  
 that irreconcilable malice could raise. It is need-  
 less to offer any strictures upon this unaccountable  
 and inexcusable behaviour of these turbulent and  
 ambitious Popes: The terrible effects which it  
 produced, and the rending the empire into the  
 two well known parties of Guelphs and Gibel-  
 lines, the first for the Pope and the other for the  
 Emperor, mark it in stronger colours than any  
 character that can be given of it.  
 Three years after this council of Lyons, King  
 Alexander died, in the fifty first year of his age,  
 and the thirty fifth of his reign. All our historians  
 of every denomination agree in their encomiums  
 on him: And Abbot Bower speaking of his  
 death says, "that having received the sacraments  
 of eternal salvation, his happy soul was taken  
 from this life, and, as piety leads us to believe,  
 is now placed with all the saints in heaven."—  
 we do not read of his having been put into a  
 Kalendar, which he ought to have been,

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Scotichr.  
l. ix. c. 63.

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LETTER according to Bower's principles, and in conformity to the Trent decision, that "the saints reign with Christ are to be worshipped and invoked." In his time there was a national council held at Perth in the year 1221, by James Pope's Legate: And four years after, a mandate came from Pope Honorius III. to all the Bishops of Scotland, by which, after having told them that, for want of a Metropolitan by whose authority they might regularly hold provincial councils, the canons were not duly observed, and many other abuses happened, he therefore joins them to convene by his authority, and hold provincial councils, which, he says, ought not to be omitted. In consequence of this mandate, upon receiving it, the Bishops held a national provincial council of all the Prelates in the kingdom, in which they regulated the form of holding such meetings, and enacted: That according to the canons of the church, a provincial council should be holden every year, at which all Bishops, Abbots and Priors should assist, to regulate all ecclesiastical affairs: That at each council one of the Bishops should be chosen by common consent, under the title of *Conservator*, to preside instead of a Metropolitan, and who in that quality should be empowered by the authority of the council to punish all transgressors of the statutes. That at each council the Bishops should preside by turns, beginning with the Bishop of St. Andrews, &c. Upon this new concession of Pope's, I must beg leave to make a few observations.

Crit. Essay,  
p. 590, 591.

1. The Pope pretends to grant it by way of favour, as if the Bishops had not an inherent right, by virtue of their Episcopal office, to ad-

with one another, and by mutual consent to appoint what they should judge most conducive to the interests of that portion of the church, whether it be called national or provincial, that was committed to their charge. This was undeniably the form in ancient times, when many such councils were held, without the Pope's authority, and even without his knowledge: And his mandate at this time was but an assumed concession of authority to do, what, upon the primitive plan, our Bishops had authority enough of their own to do without it. If it shall be said, in the Pope's behalf, that his zeal rather deserves commendation, thus rebuking, as it were, the negligence of the Bishops, and stirring them up to their duty; let it be remembered that, as times then were, it was not very safe for them to meddle even thus without his concurrence, lest he should raise clamour against them, and set aside their authoritative acts by the pretended plenitude of his power, which was now become an object of almost general awe and terror.

2. The Pope founds the reason of this concession of his, on their want of a Metropolitan.—But what was this want owing to? The Archbishop of York had once claimed that title, whether justly or not, and the Pope had taken it from him. Why did not his Holiness, out of the plenitude of his power, give them another, if a Metropolitan was so necessary for holding councils and rectifying abuses? Was it fair or kind in him to keep them so long in an orphan or disinherited state, even tho' he was willing to have them immediately depending upon himself, when he was so sensible of the inconveniencies attending that dependance? But this is not all. For

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LETTER XX. how can it be said that they wanted a Metropolitan? Where was now the remembrance of all that we find in our old historians of the Bishop of St. Andrews being the "primus or maximus" "Scotorum Episcopus," the first or principal Bishop of Scotland? This title was acknowledged a hundred years before this time, even by an Englishman Nicholas, who, in a letter to Eadmer then elect of St. Andrews, expressly calls the Bishop of that see the "highest Bishop of the Scots," and from that precedence draws an argument against the Archbishop of York's pretensions. Had not this highest Bishop, (who, the same Nicholas says, was equal to an Archbishop tho' "the rudeness of the nation did not know the use of the pall,") power to convocate his brethren, either to occasional meetings, or to the canonical ones, which were to be held at stated seasons?

Goodall's  
Introq. Ch.  
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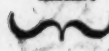
3. From the practice which followed upon this papal mandate it is evident, that the Pope had made the Bishops believe that a fixed Metropolitan was not essential to the constitution of a provincial council, but that every such meeting might chuse any one they pleased to preside, under the new fashioned name of Conservator. For we find that in the year 1420 William Bishop of Dunblaine, and in 1459 Thomas Bishop of Aberdeen acted in this capacity; from which it appears that the office was elective and ambulatory, and that the Pope's main view, with all this pretence of care, had been to humble the "highest Bishop of the Scots," by putting him on a level with the rest of his brethren, lest he should at any time, like his neighbour of Canterbury, turn too proud of his inherent honour

and prove upon some occasions refractory and unmanageable. LETTER  
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However, such as it was, our Bishops took hold of the Pope's concession, and held a second national council in virtue of it, some time after the year 1230; in the account of which, as preserved in the chartulary of Moray, we have the form of the Bishop Conservator's indicting or convoking the yearly council, "authoritate conservatoria" as the act bears, by his conservatorial authority charging each Bishop, in a particular letter, to give his presence at such a place, (which was commonly the convent of the Black Friars in Perth) on such a day with continuation of days, and to bring with him the Abbots and Priors, with proctors from the chapters, colleges and convents of his diocese, there to treat of the reformation of the state of the church, and such other matters as should come before them.

Under this King it was, that first the Dominican Monks, and soon after them the Franciscans got footing in Scotland. The first of these orders was instituted by a Dominic, a Spaniard of good extraction, who had signalized himself by a peculiar degree of zeal in preaching and soliciting expeditions against the Albigenes. These people, so called from the diocese of Albi in the Southern parts of France, where they were most numerous, had imbibed the tenets of Berengarius whom I spoke of before, and had added to some peculiar doctrines which they are charged with, the then greatest of all heresies, a contempt of the Pope's authority, and a setting themselves in opposition to that excessive stretch of dominion which he was every where grasping at. I shall not take upon me to determine the character of



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these Albigenſes, who are held forth in a moſt deſpicable light by the Popiſh party, and whom another claſs of writers magnify, perhaps too much, as an example worthy of imitation in throwing off all eccleſiaſtical ſubjection whatever. Neither does it much concern our preſent inquiry, whether Arnold of Breſcia, who was perſecuted at Rome in the twelfth century, or Raymond the old Count of Tholouſe, who about the time was ruined in France, for ſtanding up againſt the papal tyranny, were to be commended or not. My only reaſon for mentioning the Albigenſes is, their having been the occaſion of bringing this Dominic ſo much into the Pope's favour, that in the year 1216 he got his order eſtabliſhed by Pope Honorius, notwithſtanding Pope Innocent's thirteenth Canon againſt admitting any new orders, propoſed in the Lateran council the very year before. Theſe Monks are called *Jacobins*, from a houſe they had in the Rue St. Jacques in Paris, and *Black Friars*, from their habit. But the title they glory moſt in, is *Predicants* or preaching Friars, from their order having been originally intended for the converſion of heretics, in which they pretend to have been ſingularly zealous as well as ſucceſsful; and for which reaſon, ſince ever that moſt horrid engine of Antichriſtian barbarity has been eſtabliſhed upon the plan laid by their Patron and Founder Dominic they have been entrusted with the ſole management of it, and pride themſelves in being called the *Fathers of the Inquiſition*. They were brought into Scotland by William Malvoſin Biſhop of St. Andrews in the year 1230, and in a ſhort time obtained no leſs than fifteen convents in diſſerent places of the country. The next year the

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*Franciscans* or Grey-Friars, called also *Minorites* LETTER XX.  
 from a profession of extraordinary humility, came  
 over on the same Bishop's invitation, and soon  
 spread themselves to a vast extent also. Their  
 founder was Francis an Italian, born at Assise,  
 and co-temporary with Dominic, of whose auster-  
 ities and mortifications the popish writers are so  
 full, that they tell us, tho' the account borders  
 almost upon blasphemy, that the very marks of  
 our Saviour's wounds were imprinted miraculouf-  
 ly upon his hands and feet. These two orders,  
 who may be called twins of much the same age,  
 were by their institution tied down to perpetual  
 poverty, excluded from all property either private  
 or public, and allowed no subsistence but what  
 they could procure by daily begging. Yet they  
 were no sooner settled any where, than they  
 quickly lost sight of these restrictions, and of all  
 that humility and disinterestedness which their  
 foundation so peremptorily enjoined, and in a  
 short time not only became the wealthiest and  
 most powerful of all the monastic tribes, but like-  
 wise had such frequent brawls and contentions  
 with one another about dignity and precedence,  
 that the several Princes and even the Popes them-  
 selves many times found it a difficult matter to  
 keep them within proper bounds.\*

I am, &c.

\* Whoever would know more of them, and of the various  
 terms of that kind which filled this poor country of Scotland  
 under the different designations of Benedictines, Cistercians,  
 Carmelites, Carthusians, &c. may consult a most accurate ac-  
 count of them drawn up by the laird of Macfarlane, and pub-  
 lished along with Bishop Keith's catalogue of the Bishops of  
 Scotland.

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## L E T T E R    X X I .

*Accession of Alexander III.——He recovers the  
Western Isles, and adds another Bishoprick to the  
national Church——Struggles against the coming  
of more Legates from Rome, but in vain——  
Various other Instances of Papal Oppression——  
Untimely Death of Alexander III.*

A.D. 1249.

Scotichron.  
l. x. c. 2.  
Jo. Major,  
b. 4. c. 11.

**O**N the death of Alexander II. his only son Alexander, then but in the eighth year of his age, succeeded to the throne: At whose coronation, we are told, there unexpectedly appeared an old man, with venerable grey hair, who, tho' a wild highlander, was genteelly dressed in a scarlet cloak, and submissively falling on his knees, addressed the young King with the following salutation in the Gaelic language, "B' nach de Re Albin Alexander, MacAlexander, MacWilliam, MacHenry, MacDavid, MacMalcolm, MacDuncan," &c.; that is, "Blessing on thee Alexander King of Scotland, son of Alexander, son of William, son of Henry

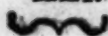
son of David," &c. and so traced back the LETTER genealogy up to Fergus son of Ferchard, and **XXI.** from him to the supposed founder of the first Milesian colony from Spain. This compliment paid by the old Seanachie has been laid hold of by the abettors of our high antiquities, to prove their favourite point of the long succession of Kings: But even this proof seems to stand on very weak and fallacious ground. That it was a genealogy the man designed to give, is evident; but whether of Kings or not, we cannot say. In the list he gave, we know there are some who never came to the throne, Beatrix, for instance, mother to Duncan, and Henry, father to William: And numbers were omitted who either were of the collateral line, as the christian Donald in the first race, and the great Gregory in the second, or who left no issue, as Edgar and the first Alexander. So that nothing can be made of this long scroll of names but a vain show of ancestry, which we are sure the beggar as well as the King, and which would have cost the Seanachie only a few more *Mac's* and a little more stretch of memory to have carried up to the flood or beyond it, like the attempt made by a curious gentleman in the last century to carry up the pedigree of the Urquharts of Cromarty to Noah.

This King's reign was, as minorities for the most part are, at first a little troubled by the insulations of the Nobles about the public management: But these contentions by degrees subsided, and his government, which lasted thirty years, turned out to be as conspicuous as that of any of his predecessors had been. He recovered the Western Isles from the Kings of Norway



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Norway who had kept possession of them since before Malcolm Canmore's accession, and conquered the Isle of Mann, which till then had for a long time been under a succession of petty Kings of its own. This enlargement of territory brought an addition of another Bishop to our national church who, as long as Episcopacy stood on the footing of public establishment, took his seat in our Episcopal college by the title Bishop of Sodor or the Isles.\* But when Mann was rent from the crown of Scotland, the

\* This little isle of Mann, which is almost equally contiguous to all the three kingdoms of Scotland, England, and Ireland, had fallen into the hands of the Norwegians about the time of MacBeth's usurpation: For in an old chronicle of the Kings of Mann, published by Camden along with his *Britannia*, we find a Godred son of Syrric reigning in Mann in 1047; and upon his death in 1066, a Godred Crovan making himself master of it, in whose posterity the possession of it continued, until the acknowledgement of the King of Norway's superiority, till 1236, that Alexander recovered it again to his crown, to which seems it had belonged, at least ever since the union of the three kingdoms under Kenneth MacAlpin. His father, the chronicle tells us, had prepared a great fleet for subduing it and the other isles, but died in a fever, in an island called *Kerewaray*, before he could put his design into execution. From this time it remained subject to our Kings for near a hundred years, till a William Montague, who pretended some relation to the old Norwegian race, raised a body of English soldiers, and drove the Scots out of it; but having contracted a load of debt in the enterprise, was obliged to pledge his conquest, with all the profits of it, to Anthony Beck Bishop of Durham for seven years. At the end of which term it returned to his son the earl of Salisbury, who in 1393 sold it for a great sum of money to William Scroop, who being soon after attainted and beheaded for treason, it fell into the hands of Henry IV. who had lately seized the English crown. Henry then bestowed it with the title of Kingdom on his favourite Henry Percy Earl of Northumberland, and as he being killed in the civil wars of these times, he next gave it to John Stanley, predecessor to the Earls of Derby: In which

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prick was also necessarily divided. So the rest of the isles had a Bishop of their own, who for long time had his cathedral in Icolmkill: And the English Bishop of Mann was made suffragan to the Archbishop of York, but has never yet obtained the additional honour of being a Lord of Parliament.

In the eleventh year of Alexander the Third's reign, the Pope's nuncio Pontius came to York, and cited the Prelates of Scotland to attend him there. But the King taking this citation to be derogatory to his royalty, and an invasion on the liberties of the kingdom, put a stop to it, by appealing to the Pope. In the year 1266 the Cardinal Legate Ottobon wrote from London to the Bishops of Scotland, demanding payment of four marks from every parish-church, and six from every cathedral within the kingdom, in name of procuration-money: Which the King at first, by the advice of his clergy, forbade to be paid, but soon after, by some persuasion or other, yielded so far to Ottobon's demand as to allow a pence of every merk to be paid to him, and a pence to another Cardinal Hubert, notwithstanding the appeal he had made to Rome against such demands, six years before. For, says my author, "as long as the King and the clergy were unanimous, they manfully defended their rights: But the King being by some evil

family it continued without interruption till towards the end of the last century, that it came by a marriage into the Scottish family of Athol, who enjoyed the property of a great part of it, and the sovereignty of the whole, under the title of Kings in Mann for about a hundred years, when for reasons of state the crown redeemed the sovereignty, but left the private property in the family's possession.

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LETTER " minded counsellors alienated from the clergy  
 XXI. " the church matters were not so well cared for  
 ~~~~~ " Yet when the King and they were reconciled  
 Scotchron. " again, they went more advisedly to work.
 lib. x.c. 22. " For soon after this there came a message from
 " the Legate desiring the King's leave to make
 " his visitation thro' Scotland, which the King
 " upon consultation held with the clergy, po
 " remptorily refused." The historians speak va
 riously of the King for thus altering his condu
 in these matters; tho' it is probable, he had su
 ficient reasons for so doing. He had no doubt
 heard of the disturbance which Becket had raised
 in England; and in case of a rupture with the
 Romish see, he was not sure how steadily the
 clergy would stand by him against the Pope, so
 that he was obliged to act cautiously, and accom
 modate himself as well as he could to the sever
 dispositions of men and times. Such was the si
 tuation which crowned heads then stood in, with
 respect to the church, that, for the peace of the
 kingdoms, they durst hardly venture either to re
 strain or patronize the clergy to any great de
 gree, but were obliged to alter their management
 as tempers altered, and according to the humours
 of the several Popes they had to deal with.

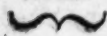
In the year 1268 all the Bishops of Scotland
 were summoned by Ottobon to appear before
 him within fourteen days after Easter, to hold
 council with him in any place where he pleased.
 This was arbitrary in the extreme, and probably
 designed in revenge for the King's having for
 merly forbidden him access into the kingdom.
 However the Bishops deputed Richard Bishop of
 Dunkeld and Robert of Dumblaine in their names
 and the other clergy the Abbot of Dunfermline

and the Prior of Lindores, to attend the Legate, LETTER
XXI.
and to take care that nothing should pass in their
presence to their prejudice. Mr. Collier says that
the synod was held at London, and that besides
the English Prelates, the Bishops of Wales, Ire-
land and Scotland were present at it. He says
further that the Canons then made were of great
authority, and that notwithstanding the change at
the reformation, many of them are still in force,
and make part of the English Canon law at this
day. He has not indeed particularised what these
standing Canons are, nor can we suppose that he
includes in that number the first of them, which
orders that "the Priests shall be perfect in the
form of the sacrament of baptism, and shall re-
peat and expound it frequently to their congre-
gations on Sundays, that so in case of necessity
the laity may be in condition to baptize an
infant." It is much to be questioned whether
all the records we have of any ancient council,
either provincial or general, can furnish an instance
of such a latitudinarian provision as is here made
for the laity in general, and under the character
of laity to baptize, in any case and on any occa-
sion whatever. The great dispute between Cypri-
an of Carthage and Stephen of Rome about the
baptism administered by Heretics, does not touch
this point in the least. For these heretics, of
whatever denomination, either were, or pretended
to be, of the clergy: And we never read of any
lay person, simply as such, and without any pre-
tension to the clerical character in some part of it
or other, either in right claiming, or in fact ex-
ercising, this privilege of the ministerial office.—
How far these Heretics, upon leaving the church
and being thrown out of it, retained their former

Collier,
b.v. p.474.

LETTER

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powers, or could convey these powers in such way as to make their sacramental administration valid, is another question, and has no concern with the complexion of the present Canon. For it is as clear as any thing that history has handed down to us, that baptism was never administered, even among Heretics, but by those who professed to be in orders, thro' whatever hands or in whatever manner these orders were conferred. And this seems to be the first time that an open and avowed attempt was made to throw this part of the sacred function into unauthorized hands even under the plea of necessity; tho' it has since been formally introduced by the Romish church both into doctrine and practice.

But be in this what may, and whatever shall be thought of these English Canons now-a-days, our own historians all agree that, when the Scottish deputies brought home a copy of these acts, the church unanimously rejected them with this declaration, "that they would acknowledge no statutes but such as proceeded either from the Pope or from a general council." By this declaration they screened themselves from the impositions of the Legate and the pretensions of the English church. But they soon had occasion to feel the effects of thus submissively giving themselves up to the Pope's personal decisions. The late Pope Urban IV. had made a decree that "every Bishop on his election should travel to Rome for consecration;" a practice which has been foolishly begun long ago, under a pretence of devotion, and was now enforced as an indispensable duty. It happened that about this time there were no fewer than five sees vacant in Scotland, Ross, Brechin, Aberdeen, Caithness, and

Andrew

Andrew's. Of these the elects of the first four, LETTER XXI.
 viz. Matthew for Ross, William for Brechin, Hugh Benham for Aberdeen, and Nicoll for Caithness went to Rome, where by reason of a competition for the papacy on the death of Clement IV. they were kept depending two years, all which time the King kept the revenues in his own hands, and the vacant dioceses suffered great inconvenience. The elect of Brechin died at Rome without consecration, he of Caithness was rejected, and at last upon the ending of the competition in favour of Gregory X. the elects of Ross and Aberdeen were consecrated by him at Viterbo.

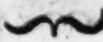
During this vacancy at Rome, William Wishart elect of Glasgow was postulated* to succeed Bishop Gameline at St. Andrews, who hearing of the divisions about the papacy, would not go to Rome himself, but sent his agents to solicit his cause. This the Pope resented so highly, that had it not been for the intercession of Prince Edward of England who was then at Rome, and whom the Pope was not willing to disoblige, Wishart had lost his election. But at last a licence was granted for his consecration at home, which was accordingly performed at Scoon in the year 1273. Upon this Wishart's promotion, Abbot Bower has a very sensible reflection, "that it was by many thought a wonderful thing that a man of Wishart's great reputation, who was Archdeacon of St. Andrew's, Elect of Glasgow, Scotichr.
 Chancellor of the kingdom, and either Rector l. x. c. 28.
 or Prebendary of no fewer than twenty two 31.

* A Bishop is said to be *postulated*, instead of *elected*, when he is called from one see to another.

“ churches

LETTER XXI. "churches, should have the ambition to cov
 "the see of St. Andrews too." And he tells
 afterwards that this was one reason why his
 met with such hindrance at Rome. Indeed the
 practice of holding a plurality of benefices was
 growing to a scandalous height, and was loudly
 complained of, even in these corrupted times.
 The Popes issued out Bull after Bull against it
 tho', as appeared from their own conduct, not
 much out of hatred to the practice in general,
 to keep the possession of such a lucrative privi-
 lege in their own hands: And this it was that en-
 couraged the base practice in others, notwith-
 standing all the great shew of repeated decrees
 the contrary.

Soon after Gregory's promotion to the papal
 chair, he called a general council to meet at
 Lyons in the year 1274, to which, by an agree-
 ment in a synod at Perth, all our Bishops except
 those of Dunkeld and Moray were appointed to
 go. The holding of such meetings was now be-
 come very frequent; and every Pope almost chal-
 lenged the honour of calling one, when and
 where he pleased. The old writers of the church
 complained much of the Emperor Constantine
 for harassing the Bishops with attending council
 after council at his pleasure, and desolating the
 several churches by drawing off their Bishops at
 such distances. And yet the design of these
 councils, however they were managed, appears
 have been quite within the sphere of ecclesiastical
 business, to settle the faith, or regulate the dis-
 cipline, or establish the communion of the church.
 But now the face of things was changed: And
 the main intention of such assemblies was to
 grandize the see of Rome, and confirm the Pope's
 power

power by subjecting all claims of whatever kind, LETTER
temporal as well as spiritual, to his sovereign de- XXI.
termination. This council of Lyons, we are told, 
was very grand as well as numerous, there being
present in it, two Patriarchs, fifteen Cardinals, five
hundred Bishops, a thousand Abbots and Priors,
besides the Emperor of Greece, the King of
France, and many other Princes. There was a
act of union packed up in it, between the Greek
and Latin church: But as it flowed entirely from
political motives, and was artfully managed on
both sides, it was but of short duration. For the
Greeks, immediately on the breaking up of the
council, retracted all that had been done on their
side, and asserted their ancient and original inde-
pendence. There was a regulation likewise made
with respect to the holders of pluralities, and
some restrictions laid on the Mendicants or beg-
ging Friars. But all this came to nothing. For
the pluralists made a shift to evade the council's
decree, and the mendicants bought off the restric-
tions with large sums of money paid into the
Pope's coffers. Indeed this seems to have been
the principal design of the meeting, under pre-
text of raising supplies for the Holy War. For
the first subject of discussion was, "that all con-
fessors should urge their penitents to assist that
business with their wealth and riches, that every
Christian, of whatever sex or quality, should
for six years contribute a penny to it, under
pain of excommunication, and that the tenth
of all ecclesiastical benefices in Christendom
without exception should be given to it for the
same space." Accordingly the next year the
Pope sent a nuncio into Scotland to collect these
sums, who settled a table of taxations upon be-
nefices

Scotch Hist.
lib. ch. iv.
p. 195.

LETTER XXI. nefices to serve for a rule in after times. This man's name, it is said, was Bagimont, and from him that table of taxations has been called *Bagimont's Roll*, by which the value of every benefice was known, and paid for accordingly at the court of Rome. But Dr. Nicholson thinks this is only a feigned name, and that *Bagimont's Roll* among us, may be the same, by a small variation of sound, with *Ragman's Roll* among the English. But whoever was the author of this valuation, it continued a standing imposition upon the nation as long as the Pope's dominion kept up in it, tho' it procured this advantage, under the pressure of such a burden, that when endeavours were used, as was often the case, to raise the value of the church-livings, on purpose to increase the profits of the court of Rome, appeals were made to this roll as a fixed standard, and every enlargement above it was declared criminal by the law of the land.

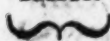
This was among the last ecclesiastical transactions of Alexander the third's reign, which soon after began to be sadly clouded with domestic misfortunes. By his queen Margaret, daughter of Henry the Third of England, he had had two sons and a daughter. But first his Queen died. Then his second son David. And not long after his eldest son Alexander, who had lately married a daughter of the Earl of Flanders, was cut off without issue in the flower of his age. His daughter Margaret too, whom he had married to the King of Norway's eldest son, did not long survive her brothers, and left only one infant daughter behind her. But this was not the worst: The good King himself, now the only hope of his once flourishing family, and but

the prime of life, having with a view to secure the succession, married a second wife, was, within a year after, most unfortunately killed by a fall from his horse at Kinghorn, in the forty-fifth year of his age, and thirty seventh of his reign: A man no way inferior to the greatest of his predecessors either in public or private life, and one whose untimely death was just matter of universal lamentation on a double account; since it not only deprived the nation of a most worthy and deservedly revered Sovereign, but likewise opened a door to those terrible calamities which, in near forty years continuance, brought it to the very brink of destruction.

I am, &c.

LETTER
XXI.

ST LETTER



L E T T E R XXII.

*Death of Margaret, Grandchild of Alexander III.
 — Competition for the Crown between Bruce
 and Baliol — Behaviour of the Clergy — And
 of the Pope on this Occasion — Success and
 Reign of Robert — His Death and Character
 — Account of John Scot of Dunse, and other
 Scottish Writers — And of the Knights Tem-
 plars, and Knights of Malta.*

ON the death of Alexander III. Margaret his grand-child, Princess, and commonly called the *Maiden* of Norway, tho' a mere infant, was looked upon as his successor: And six Regents were appointed to act during her minority. A treaty of marriage was also concluded between the eldest son of Edward King of England, and the young Scottish Queen, who was now sent for, to fill the throne of her beloved grand-father. But being of a delicate constitution, she died on her passage to Scotland; and the ambassadors had the mortification to bring nothing home

A. D. 1297.

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home but the sorrowful tidings. By this fatal LETTER
 event, the succession to the Scottish crown was XXII.
 thrown open among a number of competitors, 
 the nearest of whom could claim no nearer to
 the late King, than by descent from his grand-
 uncle, David Earl of Huntingdon, who was young-
 er brother to King William, and died in the year
 1199. It was this remoteness of kin which oc-
 casioned all the contention: For John Baliol was
 the grand-son of David's eldest daughter, and
 Robert Bruce the son of the second. Between
 these two noblemen the dispute rested: And
 there was no precedent in the Scottish history,
 nor direction in the constitution, by which such
 a dispute could be decided. So by unanimous
 consent of all parties, the decision was referred
 to the arbitration of Edward I. of England, who
 seeing now a fair opportunity of gratifying his
 ambition by reviving and enforcing the old claim
 of superiority or feudal sovereignty over Scot-
 land; gladly undertook the office, and appointed
 a convention of the Scottish nobility to meet him
 on a certain day at Norham on the Tweed. Here
 he put them in mind of his being by right of
 his crown *Superior and Lord Paramount* of the
 kingdom of Scotland, which right, he said, he
 was willing to wave for the present, and should
 act as an impartial umpire, and common friend
 to all. To this unwelcome hint, Robert Bishop
 of Glasgow answered, that "it was sufficiently
 known that Scotland, from the first foundation
 of the state, had been a free and independent
 kingdom, subject to no power whatever but to
 her own Kings, and therefore they hoped that
 he would proceed in the business as an equal
 and disinterested arbiter, which they and their

S f 2

" posterity

LETTER "posterity should remember with gratitude."
 XXII. Edward was not pleased with the freedom of this patriotic speech, but concealed his resentment at the time, and went on with the business: And to give the greater colour of equity to his procedure, he consulted the most learned civilians both at home and abroad upon the subject. But in this he did not act with all the candour that was necessary. For as, by virtue of his trust, he had the sole title of proposing the question, he took care always to clog it with the assertion of his own superiority, without the least notice of that superiority having been disowned on the one side, or renounced on the other. Accordingly we find the answers returned by these civilians so hampered by this restricting allegation of Edward's, that tho' for the most part they appeared in favour of the proximity, which was the Bruce's plea, yet they all conclude with this conditional clause of the "Fief's following the practice of the superior dominion." In consequence of this opinion, and after an affected delay of some years, Edward gave sentence in favour of Baliol, and appointed him to succeed to the crown of Scotland, and to hold it of him as supreme Lord. Against this sentence Bruce and his friends remonstrated as vigorously as they could, and matters were as confused as ever. But in a short time the vassal King Baliol, either thro' his own weakness, or by reason of the divided state of the nation, was forced to yield himself up to Edward, who sent him prisoner to London, and in a little while, at the Pope's intercession, dismissed him to France, where he spent the remainder of his days in a private condition.

All this time the other competitor Robert

Bruce

Bruce was keeping up his claim the best way he
 could: And upon his death in the year 1295,
 his son Robert contended for his father's right,
 and asserted his title to the crown, but was pre-
 vented by death likewise, before a favourable op-
 portunity offered. At last his son, the brave and
 renowned Robert Bruce, being joined by such of
 his countrymen as wished to rescue the nation
 from that miserable state of slavery to which it
 was subjected, and having with undaunted cou-
 rage fought his way thro' innumerable difficulties,
 was solemnly crowned at Scoon, on the twenty
 seventh of March 1306, with the hearty applause
 of the greatest and best part of the kingdom.
 I shall not enter into the merits of this impor-
 tant and much agitated controversy, nor take up-
 on me, after so many able pens have been employ-
 ed on both sides of it, to determine where the
 right lay. All my design in offering this short
 detail of such a critical era in our civil history,
 is to open up, if possible, some distinct view of
 the state of the church, which in such a long
 tract of contention and debate, could not fail to
 be much perplexed and confused likewise. Nor
 is it to be expected that the sentiments or con-
 duct of the clergy would be unanimous or uni-
 form on the occasion. The event was new and
 unprecedented, without any precept in scripture,
 any example in history, any Canon of the church
 to direct them. Here was no insurrection against
 the Sovereign, nor pretensions to popular autho-
 rity over them, no mention of, because no room
 for, forfeiture or abdication, or any thing tending
 that way: But the throne fairly empty by a vi-
 sible hand of providence, and two heirs, as may
 be said, of undetermined titles claiming to fill it:
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LETTER
XXII.

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XXII.

The estates of the kingdom, as they are now called, both unwilling and incapable to meddle in such an intricate affair, and the powerful arbiter, to whom the matter was referred, acting in such a manner as could neither be thoroughly approved nor successfully resisted. It was no wonder that men, and conscientious men too, should when left to their own opinions, see things in different points of view, and think themselves at liberty, consistently enough with character, to act in their several stations accordingly. Hence we find some of our Bishops acknowledging Balio and even swearing fealty to Edward: Others of them as strenuous for Bruce's right, and suffering in his cause. The Bishop of St. Andrews Frazer, was so grieved at seeing his country in thralldom, that he retired to France, leaving his procuratory with two of his chaplains to supply his absence in all affairs of ecclesiastical cognisance, by whose authority, and under the protection of that mirror of true patriotism the incomparable WALLACE, who acted for a while as governor of the realm, all the English clergy within the diocese of St. Andrews were ejected, and natives put in their room. His successor Lamberton was at first in Edward's good graces, but being suspected of favouring the Bruce's cause he was thrown into prison, where he lay till Edward's death. Robert Wishart Bishop of Glasgow, for his bold speech at Norham, and steady adherence to Bruce, was taken prisoner by Edward and sent up to London, where he was kept in confinement under very hard usage for many years. So was Marcus Bishop of the Isles, who had been employed in many foreign negotiations and been Chancellor of the kingdom, but was

hate

LETTER
XII.

A.D. 1300.

It is reported, that on his return home, and out of joy he was received into the King's favour, he applied all the of his fee, which during his absence had accresced to a considerable sum, towards building the stately bridge over the Don. (Bp. Keith's catalogue, p. 65.)

shop

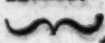
LETTER shop Leslie, to set off the Pope's authority the
 XXII. more, tells us that "Edward, after much damage
 ~~~~~ done to us, being prohibited by Pope Boniface  
 " face from further distressing a nation which  
 " had never been subject to any foreign King  
 Hist. b. vi. " desisted from his fury." But the English hi-  
 P. 96. torians represent the matter otherwise. They tell  
 us that both Edward and his nobility were much  
 disgusted at the Pope's message, and wrote back  
 to him in vindication of Edward's claim, and re-  
 beseech his Holiness not to meddle more in the  
 matter. When these letters came to Rome, be-  
 Collier, bearing a shew of argument in defence of Ed-  
 b. v. p. 496. ward's usurpation, they were answered by a long  
 confutation, which the Scotchchronicon has pre-  
 served verbatim, under the title of "The process  
 " of Baldred Bisset against the fictions of the  
 Scotchchron. " King of England." But the Pope being at  
 l. xi. c. 56. this time entangled in a contest with the King  
 ad finem. of France, and not willing on that account to dis-  
 oblige the King of England also, dismissed the  
 Scottish commissioners, after a long and expe-  
 sive stay at Rome, with great promises of favour  
 when he should see it convenient. However, not-  
 withstanding of the Pope's coldness, and in spite  
 of all opposition either from foreign force or do-  
 mestic treachery, it pleased heaven at last to bring  
 Robert Bruce, now in the thirty-second year  
 of his age, to the throne of his ancestors. And thus  
 in maintaining his title, for the first year or two  
 he was worsted in several skirmishes by the En-  
 glish party, and obliged to fly from place to place  
 to save his life, yet by the divine blessing upon  
 his own undaunted spirit, and the unwearied ste-  
 diness of his faithful friends, matters were by de-  
 grees brought into such an appearance of settle-  
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ment, that in the year 1310, four years after his coronation, a national council was held at Dundee, in which, among other acts, King Robert's right to the crown is asserted by all the Bishops and clergy of Scotland.

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XXII.



Yet the nation was not fully in peace. The English, not willing to part with the possessions they had lately seized in Scotland, and being fretted to see their King's honour thus sullied by Robert's successes, were still in arms and on the watch to disturb his reign, and tumble him, if possible, from the throne. But all their attempts and mighty boasts were blown into air by the memorable battle of Bannockburn, where upon the twenty fifth of June 1314, Robert Bruce, at the head of thirty thousand men, gave an entire defeat to the English army of more than a hundred thousand, commanded by their King Edward III. in person, who shamefully fled among the first, and narrowly escaped falling into the victor's hands. This decisive blow secured the independence of Scotland, and fixed the crown without any more dispute upon Robert's head. And now the face of affairs was changed. The English, who some years before had scornfully rejected the Pope's interposition in behalf of the Scots, were now glad to have recourse to him for themselves. The Pope immediately dispatched a Legate into Scotland with orders to the Scots "to desist from troubling England, till he had heard the questions in agitation between them, and been informed of the right which Edward claimed to the superiority of Scotland." To this Robert answered, "His Holiness could not be ignorant of the state of the affair, which had been fully cleared up by the Scottish commissioners at

T t.

"Rome

LETTER XXII. " Rome some years before, and might remember how saucily then the English had refused all reasonable offers of peace, so that now when it had pleased heaven to prosper the Scottish arms in maintaining their just liberties, he must be excused to prosecute his advantage, and not let the present favourable opportunity slip out of his hands." The Legate taking this answer as an unpardonable insult on his master's authority, put the kingdom under an interdict, and departed.

This is the account which our own historians give of this affair. But the English writers put another face on it. They tell us that the Pope excommunicated Robert for breaking his oath of homage to the King of England, and that in a second Bull he charged him, among other offences, with tearing his letters and shewing disrespect to his nuncios, for which outrages he again orders him to be excommunicated forthwith. One thing is certain, that neither the King nor the nation at this time paid any regard to the Pope's threats. For the King went on, in his own way, to distress the English: And soon after the nobility wrote that famous letter to the Pope John XXII. in which they again assert their independence, from the old topic of their antiquity and priority of settlement, when compared with the English, and boldly declare their resolution to adhere to their lawful King Robert against all opponents, at the same time begging to be restored to his Holiness's good graces, and promising all reasonable obedience to the Apostolic see. This letter, we are told, was well received, as it contained such flattering professions of respect and submission to Rome, however bravely it disclaim

April 6,  
A.D. 1320.

ed the least token of subjection to England. But, LETTER XXII.  
 whether owing to the Pope's mediation, or to the  
 turbulent state of affairs in England on the de-  
 position of Edward II. and succession of his son,  
 so it was that a peace was made up, and the young  
 King of England solemnly and by a formal deed  
 renounced the unjust claim which his father and  
 grand-father had struggled so long to support.

Our country now began to feel the blessings of  
 internal peace and order both in church and state,  
 after forty years of sad tumult and confusion in  
 both. But this sunshine did not continue long un-  
 clouded. For within two or three years King A.D. 1319.  
 Robert died, of a disease contracted by the in-  
 credible fatigues and bodily hardships which he  
 underwent in prosecution of his title, in the  
 fifty fifth year of his age, and twenty third from  
 his public coronation, whose character Archbi-  
 shop Spotswood has emphatically given in few  
 words, that "he was a King of incomparable  
 wisdom and valour, whose worth and virtue  
 no pen can express." And indeed his wisdom  
 appeared in his very last moments, as in other  
 instances of important advice, so especially in  
 artfully contriving to send the brave Douglas  
 out of the country, on the honourable employ-  
 ment of carrying the King's heart to the Holy  
 Land, with a view to prevent any emulation be-  
 tween that great man and Sir Thomas Randolph,  
 whom he had appointed regent during his son's  
 minority.

There is one thing in our public history con-  
 cerning him, which I cannot well account for.—  
 He is always, in all catalogues of our Kings,  
 called Robert the *First*, and it appears, as ob-  
 served by an English writer, from one of his pub-



LETTER

XXII.

lic deeds in which he calls Alexander III. "Our predecessor last deceased," that he did not reckon John Baliol among the Kings of Scotland. Now it is certain that, upon this principle, his grand-father Robert was the immediate heir to Alexander, and upon his death his son Robert, this Robert's father, succeeded to the title. Even allowing Baliol to have been King, and, as is said, to have forfeited his title by his ignominious subjection to Edward, yet both the elder Roberts were alive at that time, and the young Robert could have no pretension to the crown while they lived. If it shall be said, that none of them could assume the title of King till they were crowned, which none of them was but the young Robert, this contradicts both present law and present practice, which agree that, as the constitution admits of no vacancy of the throne, the lineal heir is King even before coronation; in which case this Robert would not be the first, but either the third or second, of the name. I take notice of this, not with a view to discuss the point, which is neither necessary nor easy, but only to observe that there may have been variations in the constitution, and may be peculiarities in the regal succession which cannot be fully explained, nor altogether adjusted to any modern form. It has been said too, that both the grand-father Robert, who was the original competitor, and his son Robert, either dropped the title, or surrendered it to Edward, for which reason it would seem they are excluded from the royal list. But if it was so, it would appear from what followed, that a tacit acquiescence, or even an actual resignation, was not at that time reckoned sufficient to foreclose the next heir's right of

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I. "Our accession when it opened to him by the common LETTER  
 did not course of nature. I could not omit these obvious XXII.  
 Scotland remarks on this distinguished epocha of our his-  
 tory, which, whether we consider the importance  
 of the intricate scene itself, or the striking merit  
 of the capital actor in it, I believe no Scotsman  
 can even yet look back to, without bestowing  
 some thoughts of admiration upon it.  
 In this King's time flourished our country-man  
 John Scott of Dunse,\* so famous a school-divine,  
 and so renowned for his acuteness in disputation,  
 that the Romish writers have dignified him with  
 the title of *Doctor Subtilis*, the *Subtile Doctor*, and  
 the English, on account of his fame, would have  
 him, against all probability, to be a countryman  
 of theirs. There had been before him several  
 others of the name of Scott, well known in the  
 literary world, especially John Scott Erigena in  
 the ninth century, and the accurate chronologer  
 Marianus Scotus in the twelfth, both of whom  
 the Irish, under pretence of their island being in  
 these days called Scotia, and the people Scots,  
 endeavour to rob us of, and challenge as their  
 own. But this John Duns Scotus they pretend no  
 title to, and leave that honour to be debated  
 against us by the English. Besides him, and  
 without any dispute, our country produced a Da-  
 vid Scott in the time of our King David, who  
 was historiographer to the Emperor Henry V.  
 and wrote the history of that Emperor's expedi-  
 tion into Italy against Pope Paschal: and a Mi-  
 chael Scott in the time of Alexander III. a curi-  
 ous

\* He taught at Oxford, Paris, and Cologne, and it is re-  
 corded that at Oxford, thirty thousand pupils attended his lec-  
 tures.

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ous philosopher, and most expert in the mathematical sciences, which in those days were looked upon by the vulgar to be no better than conjuration and witchcraft, as was experienced to his cost by the English Franciscan Friar Roger Bacon, who was co-eval with our Michael.

In this reign too there was a council held at Vienne in France for suppressing the Knights Templars. This order of military Monks had been instituted about two hundred years before for defending the pilgrims who came to visit the holy places about Jerusalem, and had got lands assigned them by the Pope and Princes for that service. But in process of time they had degenerated into luxury and debauchery, and were now suppressed by a Bull of Pope Clement V. with this remarkable and extravagant clause in it: "Altho' of right we cannot, yet by the fulness of our power we *do* reprobate and condemn the said order." At this rate what may not a Pope, indeed what may not any person do? If the power of any kind may be exercised in opposition to right, the world must be at a miserable pass, and a robber or murderer may with equal confidence say that, tho' by right he cannot, yet by the fulness of his power, he may take a purse or cut a throat. This distinction between right and power, which the Pope made use of at that time, and which has served his successors on many other occasions, he could not say was derived to him from St. Peter, neither could he plead any excuse for making use of it at all. If the men were really guilty of the blasphemy, sodomy and other horrible enormities laid to their charge it was right to condemn them, and abolish such a fraternity. If not, it was the height of injus-

in the Pope to countenance the malice of **LETTER**  
their enemies, and by such an iniquitous sentence **XXII.**  
make way for their destruction. However, guilty  
not, they were seized in every place where  
they could be laid hands on, some of them burnt  
a stake, the order suppressed, and their large  
possessions, which the temporal Princes had their  
upon, given away by the Pope to the *Hospi-*  
*allers*, or Knights of St. John, who had begun  
about the same time, and for much the same pur-  
pose, and who, tho' long a numerous and power-  
ful body, are now reduced to the poor Island of  
Malta, from which they have their present name  
*Knights of Malta.*

I am, &c.

**LETTER**



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XXIII.

## L E T T E R XXIII.

*Accession of David II.——Troubles of his Re-  
and State of the Church——He dies, and  
succeeded by his Nephew Robert II.——Sch-  
in the Papal See——Account of Wickliff—  
His Character and Writings.*

A.D. 1330:

**A**FTER the death of King Robert, Da-  
his son by his second wife, succeeded  
the throne, and was solemnly crowned at Sco-  
Tho' but eight years of age, he had been  
ready married to the sister of Edward the you-  
King of England, but within a few years  
obliged to leave Scotland, and retire with  
Queen to France: For Edward, son to John  
liol, in pursuance of his father's old claim,  
assisted, contrary to the ties of honesty and  
liance, by Edward III. of England, had inva-  
the kingdom, and by some means or other,  
possession of the greatest part of it. On t-  
began another scene of disorder and devastat-  
productive of consequences which almost equal

the calamities of former times. The nobility took different sides, and put one another to the sword without mercy. The churchmen too were again divided in their attachments, and the Pope for the most part took care to side with the victors.

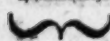
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This contest however was not of long duration. Edward Baliol had no more of the royal spirit than his father, and the King of England his great supporter, was as ambitious and ungenerous as his predecessors. The entire conquest of Scotland was what he aimed at, and Baliol's pretended title was only the instrument he chose to work with. This in end opened the nation's eyes, and united all parties in defence of their country and liberties. They saw that Baliol was only a tool to English ambition, and they could not but be aware of the consequences. So with almost unanimous consent they called home the son and heir of their great deliverer, who landed with his Queen at Innerbervy in the year 1342, after an exile of nine years, and was now received with universal congratulation.

Yet this joyful restoration did not produce an immediate calm. Edward of England still kept up his design of enslaving Scotland, and being now in the height of his glory, had in right of his mother, but contrary to the standing law of royal succession in France, laid claim also to that kingdom. In prosecution of this claim, his armies were distressing France, and he and his son carrying all before them with fire and sword.— This engaged our King in the cause, both on account of the old alliance between Scotland and France, and out of particular gratitude to an injured Monarch, who had so generously entertained him in his distress. But in this noble de-

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A. D. 1346.

sign he met with a fatal disappointment: For entering England with an army, on purpose to take off some part of the burden of the war from the French, he was attacked by a superior force near Durham, where his troops were routed and himself fighting manfully was taken prisoner, and carried to London. Here he was detained eleven years, notwithstanding of the repeated proposals made by his subjects for his release: Till at last, by the Pope's mediation, the King of England agreed to take a hundred thousand merks for his ransom, but at the same time extorted from him a promise to do what he could to persuade the Scots to acknowledge the King of England as their superior Lord. After this second return, his reign was no further disturbed, but continued quiet and peaceable till his death, which happened in February 1370-1, in the forty ninth year of his age and forty first of his reign, nine of which he had spent in exile, and eleven in confinement. "A man," says Buchanan, "famous for every species of virtue, especially for justice and clemency; and one whose vicissitudes in life were more owing to misfortune than to want of foresight."

The confusions of the kingdom in his time and the fluctuating state of affairs under the two claimants, furnish but few materials for our present purpose. At this period the history of the Church is very lame and imperfect both at home and abroad. Almost the whole christian world was involved in troubles and commotions. The Turks had now for the first time broke into Greece under Amurath their third Sultan, and grandfather to their famous Ottoman. The Eastern Empire was torn by intestine divisions, and sinking apace in

that miserable servitude under which it has so long groaned. Germany was all in confusion about the election of its Emperors, which had been for many years a source of contention among the princes of the empire, and continued so till Charles IV. established some kind of form and order by the publication of his Golden Bull in the year 1356. The Popes were busied in humbling the Italian princes, and the English were ravaging France. At home, as I said, our Bishops differed in politics, tho' they agreed in doctrine. Some of them adhered steadily to David Bruce, and suffered in his cause: Others followed young Baliol till they saw him serving the English interest, and then left him. The episcopal succession was still continued: And when a vacancy happened, the see was filled either by the Pope, from the plenitude of his power which was now in its meridian, or by the election of the chapter, sometimes with, and sometimes without the King of England's recommendation.

After David's return from France, the Bishops seem to have been united in their attachment to him, and during the eleven years of his captivity, we find no difference of political principles among them. In the negotiations for his liberation they all gave their hearty concurrence, and many of them were personally employed in effecting it. There were indeed altercations sometimes about their elections between the King and the Pope, but they were not carried to such heights as had been seen in former times. The King was a quiet well disposed man, and it would seem the Popes he had to do with, were more so than some of their predecessors had been. For towards the payment of his ransom the Pope consented to the clergy's



**LETTER XXIII.** gy's giving the tenth of their benefices for three years. This was certainly a handsome instance of duty and affection to their Sovereign, if it had not been clogged with the Pope's permission which was unnecessary to be asked, and superfluous in the giving. For could not the clergy contribute and for such a purpose too, any portion they pleased of their yearly livings which had been bestowed upon them by their King's progenitors, without waiting for leave from one, to whom, however much they might think themselves depending on him in spirituals, they surely owed no part of their temporal subsistence? But it was by these little instances of generosity on the one side, where it cost nothing, and by repeated concessions and compliments on the other for the sake of peace, that the Roman Pontiff not only supported his authority, but even enlarged it to that degree, that a clergyman could not dispose of his own money, tho' for the King's service, without first consulting the Pope about it.

However the contribution in the present case was both dutiful and seasonable: And in return for this liberality, it was granted either by this King or his successor, at the instance of Bishop Landals of St. Andrews, who had been very active in the King's affairs, that the Bishops should be allowed to dispose of their private goods by testament, or if they died intestate, that their nearest of kin should call for and take possession of them; whereas before this, it had been customary for the King's officers, on a Bishop's death, to seize all his moveable effects and carry them off to the King's use. In this King's minority the town of Aberdeen was burnt by the English, with the lodgings of the Canons and the Bishop's palace

which

which, it was thought, was the cause of the Bi-  
 shop Alexander Kininmont's death. In his time  
 John Pilmore Bishop of Moray finished the  
 Scotch college at Paris, which had been begun by  
 his predecessor David Murray in the year 1325,  
 and was always managed, till the reformation, by  
 the authority of the Bishops of Moray, who, in  
 quality of founders and patrons, presented to the  
 house, and settled directors and superiors in it.  
 On the death of David Bruce without issue,  
 the succession fell to his nephew Robert Stuart, son  
 of Walter great Steward of Scotland, by Marjory  
 eldest daughter to Robert Bruce by his first wife.  
 This Prince was then in the fifty seventh year of  
 his age, was the father of a numerous family; and  
 had been concerned in the publick management  
 both civil and military, before his accession to the  
 government in his own person. He is called  
 Robert the second, and was the first of the noble  
 family of Stuart who swayed the Scottish Sceptre,  
 as derived to him in right of blood from his heroic  
 grandfather Robert Bruce, and from him conveyed  
 thro' eight successive generations of the name to  
 James VI. in whose person the two crowns of  
 Scotland and England were at last happily united.  
 The church annals of this Robert's reign, are  
 as barren as those of his predecessors. We hear  
 of no councils either at home or abroad which re-  
 quired the attendance of our Prelates; so their  
 great employment was to enlarge and adorn their  
 cathedrals and palaces, to make charitable dona-  
 tions, and when called upon, to manage the affairs  
 of state in those departments to which the King  
 appointed them. In these, we are told, they be-  
 came with universal approbation, and gained the  
 love and esteem of both King and subject:  
 Especially

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**LETTER XXIII.** Especially Walter Traill Bishop of St. Andrews, of whom, on his promotion to that see while he was attending Pope Clement VII. at Avignon, the Pope gave this character; "this man deserveth better to be Pope than Bishop; the place is better provided than the person."

This Clement is looked upon by the present Romanists to have been but an Antipope, set up by a party in the conclave in opposition to Urban VI. from whom the church of Rome reckons the succession. This was the beginning of that long schism which made such a noise in the church, and had its foundation entirely in worldly considerations. Pope Clement V. many years before this being at variance with the Emperor, and not able to carry his point against him, retired for protection to the King of France, Philip the Fair, and got a residence from him in the city of Avignon, where he fixed the papal chair, and where it continued for upwards of seventy years, thro' six undisputed successions. But now on the death of Gregory XI. in the year 1378, the Italian Cardinals, who had long grudged the diminution of their antient splendor by the removal of the Pope's court, chose Urban on condition of his bringing back the court to Rome, which he accordingly did. On the other hand, the French party of the Cardinals, with the same views of honour and interest, gave their voices for Clement, who continued still at Avignon, and thundered out his Bulls against Urban, who paid him back in his own coin. The church of England acknowledged Urban, and our church it seems owned his competitor. The effects of this competition we shall have occasion to consider afterwards.

During the whole of this King's reign there was still

still a sort of war kept up between the Scots and LETTER  
English, with various success. The King himself XXIII.  
could not appear in the field on account of his  
age, but he was served by brave and prudent of-  
ficers. In the Church all was quiet and peace-  
able, except what disturbances were for some  
time raised by the King's third son Alexander,  
commonly called the *Wolf of Badenach*, who ha-  
rassed the churchmen in the northern parts, and  
particularly threatened to murder the worthy Bi-  
shop Cuningham of Aberdeen: But by the Bi-  
shop's wise management, and the interposition of  
the King's authority, the attempt was frustrated,  
and Alexander restrained from further opportuni-  
ties of mischief.

In England the affairs of the church were in  
greater ferment: For now the tenets of the fa-  
mous *John Wickliff* began to make a noise. This  
man was rector of Lutterworth in the diocese of  
Lincoln, and maintained, "That the Pope was not  
the head of the church: That the Eucharist af-  
ter consecration was not the true body of Christ,  
but only an emblem or sign of it: That the  
gospel is a sufficient rule of life to every chris-  
tian, and therefore every supplemental institu-  
tion of Monkery and the like is entirely super-  
fluous: That the Pope and other Prelates ought  
not to exercise corporal discipline upon offenders:  
And that churchmen might be dispossessed of  
their revenues in case of misbehaviour." These  
positions, so contrary to the current doctrine of the  
times, and so dangerous to the papal power, soon  
alarmed the then Pope Gregory XI. who imme-  
diately dispatched an order to the Archbishop of  
Canterbury to apprehend Wickliff and bring him  
to punishment for such bold assertions. But  
Wick-



LETTER XXIII. Wickliff was supported by some persons of power and influence, especially by the Duke of Lancaster King Richard's uncle, and notwithstanding of the frequent synods convened against him, where he qualified and explained the propositions, but never absolutely retracted them, he continued many years in full possession of his office and living. Yea, which is indeed worthy of notice, his remonstrances against the church of that age, did not carry him so far as to quit her communion. For as he was saying mass in his parish church upon Innocent's day, he was seized with a stroke of the palsy, which cut him off a few days after. He was a man of untainted character and strict regularity of life, and however displeasing his doctrine, was unexceptionable in his moral life. Even his great adversary Waldensis, Prior General of the Carmelites in England, who wrote a purpose against him, and has represented his tenets in the blackest light he could, yet acknowledges his vast capacity and deep penetration. His enemies have attempted to charge him with having fomented the popular insurrections of those days, which gave the government so much uneasiness, and cost Simon Sudbury, Archbishop of Canterbury his life. But, besides that none of the principal leaders in these commotions, either in their public declarations while successful, or at their trial after all was over, ever mention Wickliff as being in any way aiding or assisting to them, it is a strong presumption in his favour, that his great supporter the old Duke of Lancaster was a particular object of the rebels fury, and if he had come into their hands, would have fallen a sacrifice to their resentment. Wickliff wrote a great many books and among other performances, translated the

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into English, for which the writers of those LETTER  
days are highly displeased with him. He had se- XXIII.  
veral adherents in his life, and a number of fol-  
lowers after his death, who added to his doc-  
trines, and by these corrupt additions brought that  
disrepute upon them, which they have so general-  
ly lien under ever since. We shall soon hear more  
of this man: But I have taken this notice of him  
now, because he was cotemporary with our  
King Robert II. and tho' not belonging to our  
church, came in process of time to be much  
spoken of in it, upon many interesting accounts.

I am, &c.

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## L E T T E R XXIV.

*Peaceable Accession of John, by the Name of Robert III.—Revolution in England—Condu of the Pope on this Occasion—Quiet State Things in Scotland—Character and Death Robert III.*

A.D. 1390:

**A**FTER a reign of nineteen years, Robert died, and has met with the universal approbation of all our historians, for his exact administration of justice, and settling the government, by rules of the most consummate equity and prudence. He was succeeded by his eldest son John, who disliking that name, perhaps on account of the bad fortune that had attended John of England, and John Baliol in Scotland, chose rather to be called by his father's, as more auspicious, and stands in the list of our Kings by the name of Robert the Third. This is how whom Buchanan, and his modern followers, who bear no good will to the Stuart family, copying after the incorrect account of former writers, have thought proper to stigmatize as a bastard. For the

they tell us that his father, when but a young man, in his uncle David Bruce's time, kept a concubine Elizabeth Mure, by whom he had three sons, this John, Robert, and Alexander: That he afterwards married Eupham daughter to the Earl of Ross, by whom he had two sons, Walter and David: And that when he came to the crown, on Queen Eupham's death soon after, he formally married his old concubine, with a view to legitimate his issue by her, and bring them into the succession. But this confused and scandalous story has been solidly confuted of late, by a number of able writers, from this, among many other conclusive arguments, that in David Bruce's time, this John is frequently in public deeds designated "eldest son and heir to Robert the Great Steward of Scotland," and in that character, as heir to the apparent heir of the kingdom, stands at the head of the hostages sent into England in the year 1357, for the redemption of the King. At that time therefore he was publicly acknowledged as a lawful eldest son, and now, as a lawful eldest son, upon his father's death, he obtained the crown by hereditary right.

But here it may be proper to take notice that, while in Scotland the son was peaceably ascending the father's throne, without any contention, England was laying schemes for tumbling the literal heir from the throne which he had been twenty two years in possession of, and filling it with an usurping collateral. For in this King Robert's reign, the unfortunate Richard II. son and heir to the great favourite of the English nation, the Black Prince, was dethroned and basely murdered by the ambition of his cousin the Duke of Lancaster, who seized the crown and wore it



**LETTER XXIV.** by the name of Henry IV. This unnatural revolution was principally effected by the interest and intrigues of Arundel Archbishop of Canterbury, who had been convicted of high treason and banished out of the kingdom a few years before. In this exile he was supported by the Roman Pope Boniface IX. who besides other preferments, promoted him as we are told to the see of St. Andrews in Scotland: Which, if not a mistake in the historian, was a most flagrant injustice in the Pope: For at this time the see was filled with the worthy Bishop Traill, who survived the English revolution some years.

Collier,  
b.vi. p.602

But this is not the only instance of the Pope's forwardness in complimenting his favourites with vain titles. For about eleven years before this on Nevil Archbishop of York being found guilty of treason and obliged to fly for his life, Pope Urban VI. gave him the Bishoprick of St. Andrews to support him in his banishment. But, as Mr. Collier tells the story, the Scots being in the interest of Clement, Urban's competitor, would not receive Nevil, but adhered to Bishop Traill whom Clement had preferred. Now, if these two stories be true, which they may be, tho' our own writers take no notice of them, it would seem that the Popes at Rome did not acknowledge the validity of Bishop Traill's ordination by the Pope at Avignon, and likewise that our national church thought herself at liberty, when there was a competition for the papacy, to determine for herself which of the competitors to acknowledge. Perhaps the truth is, that the Popes did not much study what was regular in these cases, but without regard to Canons or order, seized every opportunity of exerting their paramount power, to gratify

by their friends, or please the prevailing party.— LETTER  
 An instance of which we have in this very affair XXIV.  
 of Arundel. For tho', by bestowing on him the  
 see of St. Andrews, it would appear that the Pope  
 thought him ill-used by King Richard; yet on  
 Richard's writing a sharp letter of expostulation  
 and complaint, he promoted Roger Walden to the  
 see of Canterbury, who accordingly was installed,  
 and performed all the Archiepiscopal functions, by  
 holding synods, and making provincial constitu-  
 tions. But no sooner was the tide turned against  
 Richard, and Arundel returned to England in  
 triumph on Henry's successful usurpation, but the  
 same Pope discharges Arundel from any engage-  
 ment to St. Andrews, revokes Walden's Bull of  
 promotion, and restores Arundel to his old see.  
 And thus, says my author, "by the prevarica-  
 tions of the court of Rome, which moved with  
 the revolutions in the state, Arundel both lost  
 and recovered his Archbishoprick."\*

Collier,  
 b.vii.p.6c9

\* Another specimen of the Pope's readiness to comply with  
 the times, we have in his behaviour to Thomas Merks Bishop of  
 Carlisle, the only one of all the English Bishops who made any  
 appearance in defence of his injured Sovereign. This man,  
 when the question was put in the House of Peers how to dis-  
 pose of Richard's person, had the courage to make a speech a-  
 gainst the illegality and iniquity of such proceedings: Which  
 speech Mr. Collier has preserved to us, and which, for the  
 warmth of affection, and strength of argument contained in  
 it, will carry down the speaker's memory to posterity with ve-  
 ration. For this speech the honest Bishop was immediately  
 arrested and committed to prison, from whence being set at li-  
 berty, and joining in an unsuccessful attempt to save Richard's  
 life, he was tried for it, and found guilty. However Henry,  
 out of regard to either his character or constancy, spared his  
 life, and the Pope, to ease Henry of such an uncomplying  
 churchman, forced him to quit the see of Carlisle, and accept  
 of the Bishoprick of Samo in the Island of Cephalaria. But

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Perhaps it may be thought, that the Pope no doubt had a particular reason for his unkindness to Richard and his adherents. In the sixteenth year of Richard II. an act had passed extending, as well as confirming, the statute of *præmunire* of the twenty seventh of Edward III. which was such a check on the pretensions of the Popes as they would be sure to seek revenge for, however soon they had it in their power. But Edward III. was too high-spirited a Prince to meddle with. His grandson Richard, being but twelve years of age when he came to the throne, besides his not inheriting the magnanimity of either his father or grandfather, was continually disturbed in his government either by popular insurrections, or the ambition of his numerous relations: So was an easier subject to contend with, when a convenient opportunity offered; And the Pope would be ready enough to catch at every thing he could make a handle of to gratify his resentment. It may therefore be reasonably presumed that Richard's opposition to the Papal encroachments contributed as much to his misfortunes, as his cousin's ambition, which without Arundel's assistance and the Pope's countenance, would not in all probability have been so successful as it was.

the good man died in a short time, probably from grief and ill usage, and so escaped the rigours of the revolution. From this piece of English history we may observe how careful the Roman Pontiffs were to improve every occurrence to their temporal advantage, whatever should become of the spiritual interests of the church, or the moral concerns of truth and equity.

\* This may be thought an ill-natured reflection on the Pope's character: But his glaring partiality to Arundel who was Richard's bitter enemy, and his carelessness about the Bishop of Carlisle who was his only friend, give too much foundation for it.

In our nation, all this time matters were going on in a smooth uniform way both in church and state. Our clergy indeed owned the succession of the French Popes, as they were called: But that they might not be too much embroiled in the consequences of the schism while it lasted, they had recourse to the privilege formerly granted them by a Papal Bull, of choosing a *Conservator Cleri*, which was now confirmed and enforced by an act of the civil power, to be seen among the statutes of Robert III. As to state-affairs it is worthy of observation, that while in England from William the Norman's time, there had been frequent changes and interruptions in the lineal course, by the accession of Henry I. against his elder brother Robert, the usurpation of Stephen from Henry's daughter Maud, the succession of John in prejudice of his nephew Arthur, the forced resignation of Edward II. to his son Edward III. and now the deposing of Richard II. to make room for the Duke of Lancaster who was not the lineal heir (in all which cases the Bishops had gone backward and forward, and the Popes had been still on the prevailing side,) our nation had hitherto seen no such changes, nor undergone such disagreeable convulsions. For, excepting the dispute between Bruce and Baliol which, from the unprecedented nature of it, was an intricate point of law, and made more so by the injustice and ambition of the three Edwards of England, from the time of Malcolm Canmore,

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such a behaviour cannot well be accounted for, without supposing some plot of importance to be carrying on all the time. Whether the English history in after ages has produced any parallel to this revolution, may be left to every reader to determine himself, as either candour or prejudice may be predominant.

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LETTER which coincided with the Norman Æra, the  
 XXIV. next heir to the Scottish crown had peaceably  
 and regularly, whether in or out of minority  
 ascended the throne of his ancestors, without  
 any rivalry from the nobility on the one side, or  
 much confusion to the churchmen on the other.

The quiet reign of this second Scottish King  
 of the Stuart family, affords not many memo-  
 rable incidents in the history of our church.  
 Every thing in it, as well as in the state, seem-  
 to have been managed equitably and orderly, to  
 the mutual satisfaction of both king and people.  
 At last the good old King was brought to great  
 trouble by a scene of family distress, which, it  
 said, hastened him to the grave. His eldest son  
 David, it seems, was a wild ungovernable youth.  
 And his father having committed the management  
 of him to his brother the Duke of Albany, who  
 he had made governor of the kingdom, the un-  
 happy Prince was shut up in the castle of Fal-  
 land, where in a short time he was starved to  
 death. His father, on hearing this melancholy  
 news, and fearing the worst for his next and only  
 son James, took the resolution to send him  
 to France for his safety. But the ship being  
 distressed of weather driven upon the English coast,  
 or, as some say, putting in designedly to relieve  
 the Prince from a severe fit of sea-sickness, he  
 was detained with all his retinue, and sent up  
 London to the then King Henry IV. who un-  
 generously kept him prisoner, notwithstanding of  
 most moving letter which King Robert had writ-  
 ten with his own hand to Henry, and sent along  
 with the Prince, in case of any such accident  
 happening. This was a most shameful act of  
 barbarity, and such an open violation of all

principles of humanity and compassion, as the LETTER  
English historians themselves do not take upon XXIV.  
them fully to vindicate: 

It is but a poor apology which is generally offered for Henry's conduct, that James got a general and princely education in England, and thereby imbibed all those noble qualities which made his reign afterwards so conspicuous. For all those improvements might have been as much owing to his own natural capacity, as to the care which the English bestowed upon him. The good effects of a foreign education he might have obtained, as well at his liberty in France, as under restraint in England; unless it shall be said, that the best way to educate a King is to make him a prisoner. Be in this what may, it was a base unworthy action, and proved fatal to the good old King his father. For being told of it at supper, he fainted, and died of grief the third day after, at his palace of Rothsay in Bute, in the year 1406, having reigned sixteen years: A man who, however unfit he is commonly represented to have been for kingly government, is universally commended for piety towards God, for charity to the poor, for strict honesty in all his dealings, in a word, for every virtue that adorns private life. And even the opinion of his unsuitness for government, which all our historians agree in, seems to have been taken up without sufficient ground. His committing so great a share of the management of affairs to his brother the Duke of Albany, was only continuing him in the trust and office to which their father had promoted him, and may be as justly supposed a singular instance of confidence in a brother, and reverence to a father's memory, as

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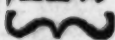
of indolence and want of capacity in himself. On the whole, I see no reason why this unhappy Monarch, who has been unjustly branded with the illegitimacy of his birth, should likewise be spoken of in such a contemptible way by writers of all denominations, as being in John Major's style, "bonus vir, sed parum bonus Rex, a good man, but not a good King," or as Buchanan describes him, "rather without any vice than illustrious for any virtue;" tho' they all agree that he was remarkable for the most unblemished regularity of life, and for stateliness of person inferior to none of his time.

I am &amp;c.

Nich. Scots  
Hist. Lib.  
p. 154, p. 175.

\* An English writer presents us with an anecdote of the King, which he had met with in a manuscript collection of poems in an English gentleman's library, and which if genuine displays his character, even for martial bravery, in a more advantageous light than our professed historians have drawn it in. It is from a manuscript account written by a Dean David Seill, of Robert the third's contest with Henry the fourth of England about the old demand of homage, in which after the usual boast of *Brutus* on the one side, and *Scota* on the other, Robert proposed to decide the controversy by sixty against sixty of the royal blood of both kingdoms, forty against forty, twenty against twenty, "if Henry approves it, that the two Kings themselves may end by single combat." This shews what opinion this writer, who by his language seems to have been a cotemporary, entertained of King Robert's courage, and the more so, as at the time of the challenge Robert was above sixty years of age, and Henry below forty.

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## L E T T E R XXV.

*Regency of the Duke of Albany—Burning of Heretics begun—The Practice brought from England into Scotland—Continuance of the Papal Schism—University of St. Andrews founded by Bishop Wardlaw—Council of Constance condemns John Hufs—Takes the Eucharistic Cup from the Laity—Deposes the three rival Popes, and elects another—The Scottish Church at last acknowledges the new Pope—And holds a national Council by her own Authority.*

ON the death of Robert III. and captivity of A. D. 1426. James his son and successor, the administration of affairs was continued with the Duke of Albany, till means should be taken for the young King's release, which tho' often attempted, in the way of negotiation, was not effected till eighteen years after. In the second year of the Duke of Albany's government, our histories present us with a new mode of ecclesiastical censure, which began now to be much practised, as an effectual



LETTER method to support the huge fabrick of Papal au-  
 XXV. thority. I have already mentioned how one  
 ~~~~~ Wickliff in England had publicly vented some  
 tenets contrary to the received doctrines of these
 times, and what pains the church there had tak-
 en to silence him, and stop the progress of his
 opinions. Yet these opinions spread, and his
 disciples carried them into other countries. Ac-
 cordingly they were about this time brought into
 Scotland by one of his scholars, John or James
 Resby an English Priest, who, says my author,
 was reckoned a famous preacher by the simple
 people, but interspersed many dangerous conclu-
 sions in his discourses, especially these two capi-
 tal ones, "That the Pope is not in fact Christ's
 vicar; and that none can be Christ's vicar if he
 be a wicked man." For this unpardonable
 boldness he was summoned before Mr. Laurence
 Lindores, the appointed inquisitor of heresy, and
 being convicted, was given over to the secular
 arm, and publicly burnt at a stake. Let us see
 how the historian, who was cotemporary with
 Resby, argues against these positions, "What, he
 says, can be more heretical than to say that the
 Pope is not Christ's vicar, as it is clear and
 certain that some one must in fact be so, other-
 wise the church would want a ministerial head."
 "But such an one is the Pope: ergo, by conver-
 sion, the Pope is in fact Christ's vicar." This
 is the Abbot's syllogism, of which the least smat-
 terer in logic cannot but see the fallacy, both in
 the matter and manner of it. However, weak
 as it was in itself, yet when backed with fire and
 faggot, as at this time it began to be, it was un-
 answerable, and poor Resby suffered under it.

This and another instance of the same kind li-

Schotichr.
 l. xv. c. 20.

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heavy on the memory of the then Bishop of St. Andrews, Henry Wardlaw, who, Spotswood says, was otherwise a praise-worthy man, but by his office, had a principal hand in this sentence. No doubt the Romanists, who glory in these fiery arguments, will add this to his other meritorious actions, and applaud him for it. But whatever praise be due to it, he was not the first who introduced the practice into Britain, having only followed the example set him in England. For seven years before this, one William Sawtry, another scholar of Wickliff's and a Priest too, was brought before Arundel of Canterbury for being a Lollard, which was the ignominious nickname now given to these people, and being by him condemned, was delivered over and burnt. This man, as far as appears, was the first who ever suffered in England in this severe manner for what was called Heresy. But their new King Henry, to ingratiate himself with the clergy, had, immediately upon his seizing the crown, passed a burning act against the Lollards; and hence it has been, not improperly, observed that the practice of burning heretics was first made law of in England by a bloody usurper. To evade the satyrical force of this observation, it is pled that burning had always been the punishment of Heresy by the *Common Law*. But in return to this evasion, two questions occur. 1. When began the custom of capitally punishing heretics in any manner? It could not be a primitive custom, before christians had the countenance of the temporal judges; and even after they got this countenance, we are sure the most respectable names in the church did not approve it. The well known story of St. Ambrose of Milan and Martin of Tours refusing to com-

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LETTER communicate with Ithacius and some other Bi-
 XXV. shops who had persecuted the Priscillianist here-
 tics to the death; and the great St. Augustin's
 behaviour in the long dispute with the Donatists,
 are a clear proof of this. It signifies little that
 the spiritual courts, as Baronius pleads for them,
 throw in a *saving clause*, as they call it, when they
 deliver over the poor culprit: For this is but hy-
 pocritical grimace at best, as they know that by
 their sentence the temporal court is obliged in
 law to proceed to execution; and we seldom, if
 ever, read of any criminal escaping upon such
 recommendation, which would undoubtedly be
 the case sometimes, as has been known in tem-
 poral judicatures, if it were a real, sincere desire
 in the clergy, and not a matter of mere, cruel
 formality. But 2. granting that heretics, as such,
 ought to be capitally punished, it remains to be
 asked, When or whence the barbarous practice of
 burning them began, or in other words, from
 what source that practice, which I take to be the
 foundation of what is called common law, was
 derived? And this question naturally offers to
 our view, by way of answer, the example of the
 old heathen persecutors, who among other dia-
 bolical inventions of cruelty, brought in this also
 of burning, to give them an opportunity of feast-
 ing their eyes with the torments of the christian
 heretics (as they reckoned them) of those days.—
 So if the modern Roman church shall think fit
 to build on the model of the old Roman state,
 and they have nothing else to build upon for
 their burning people by common law, it is but
 fair to let them enjoy all the glory that the imi-
 tation of such a pattern deserves.

If it was common law before, it became now
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statute law, at least in England; and what in former times the secular judges might comply with or not, as precedent directed, was now bound down upon them by express statute. But this was not the only stretch of extraordinary power in this English King. For as with the one hand he held out this terrible act, to gratify the passions of some churchmen, so with the other he bore heavy on the pretended privileges of the whole order. In the sixth year of his reign, the Archbishop Scroop of York joined with some of the nobility in a combination against Henry, under pretext of his having broke the oath which he had sworn to the Archbishop, not to do any thing against King Richard, and at the same time with a view to restore the right line of the elder branch of the royal family. But the Archbishop being betrayed and arrested by the Earl of Westmorland, was condemned by Henry's positive order, and beheaded the next day, "the first English Bishop, says Mr. Collier, who had ever suffered by a sentence of the King's judges."—And thus as Henry was the first who had the honour of bringing heretics to the stake by law, he was the first who had the courage to bring the Archbishop, and him too a man of noble birth and unblemished reputation, to the scaffold by his own arbitrary command, without trial by his peers, or any other formality of law whatever.

That such doctrines should have now prevailed in the church, and such liberties have been taken in the state, as had been unknown in some of the past ages, can be accounted for no other way, but by attributing it to the schism which had been so long kept up in the Romish church; to Popes, and sometimes three, warring against one

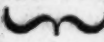
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LETTER one another, and each of them disannulling his com
 XXV. petitor's ordinances by opposite bulls and coun
 ter-fulminations. This it was that gave them
 work enough to defend themselves; so that
 whereas, when there was but one Pope peacea
 bly settled in the chair at Rome, he had leisure
 to look about him, and to lay his rod of com
 mand with all it's weight upon any Prince or
 Prelate whom he thought too refractory, the
 rival Popes durst not meddle so far, even within
 what was called their own obedience, for fear
 of offending the vassals, whom they held not
 only by courtesy, and provoking them to go over
 to the opposite party. And amidst such indecen
 brawling and continued competitions for *Head
 ship*, it was not to be wondered at, if some of
 the clergy, who had not much to lose, and com
 frequently had more courage than caution, should
 speak out, what others perhaps thought, that
 such opposite pretenders could not both of them
 be *Heads* of the church and vicars of Christ upon
 earth. From which well founded argument there
 might proceed to another rational enough con
 clusion, that under the risk of such uncertainty
 there seemed to be no necessity for any head
 of the church at all but Christ himself, nor for
 any one Bishop to be his vicar upon earth, more
 than another, and that therefore no Bishop, not
 even he of Rome, who had confined the ordinary
 common designation of Pope to himself, had
 divine right to that exclusive title.

It would seem that the Cardinals, who had
 been long in possession of the privilege of choos
 ing the Pope, had seen the bad consequences
 both in temporals and spirituals of this unnatural
 division. For on the death of Innocent V. sev
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Several of them entered into an agreement, and swore to it, that if any of themselves should be chosen, or on whomsoever the election should fall, he should renounce the Papacy in case the Antipope did the same, that upon such renunciation the Cardinals on both sides might join together, and proceed to a single election. Upon this they elected Angelo Corario Cardinal of St. Mark, who immediately took the name of Gregory XII. and entered into the engagement and oath above mentioned. But this healing overture availed nothing: For neither Gregory nor his rival Benedict would yield, but went on with their hostilities as fiercely as ever. In this contention England sided with Gregory, Scotland with Benedict, and France stood neuter. So the Cardinals thought proper to call a sort of General Council, which was held in the year 1409 at Pisa in Italy, where assembled twenty-two Cardinals, four Patriarchs, twelve Archbishops present, and fourteen Proxies, eighty Bishops in person, besides Proxies, eighty seven Abbots, with the Embassadors of Princes, and deputies from the most celebrated universities and cathedral churches. Here, after many sessions about the business, the council deposed both Gregory and Benedict, as notorious incorrigible schismatics and heretics, and guilty of plain perjury. Then the Cardinals present unanimously elected the Cardinal of Milan, who took the name of Alexander V. presided in the council, and incorporated the two divisions of Cardinals into one college. Yet this judicial decision, instead of mending matters, made them much worse. For now in place of two, there were three contending Popes, all of them equally fierce and

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LETTER XXV.  tenacious, and neither of them in the least inclined to put an end to the rupture, or do anything towards public peace. However the new Pope Alexander did not long enjoy his contest dignity: For he died the next year, and his chair was immediately filled with Balthazar Colonna who took the name of John XXIII. So the confusion continued, and the church was at a loss to know, to which of the three she owed obedience.

While thus the outward face of the church was deformed by these divisions, and the members distressed, and, as it were, torn asunder by three contending heads, our church had the happiness of seeing encouragement given at home to learning and the liberal sciences. For in the year 1412 Bishop Wardlaw founded the university of St. Andrews, upon the model of that of Paris, and brought to it from all parts of the kingdom, Professors of the several branches of theology, philosophy, logic and rhetoric, who at first had no salaries, but willingly employed their labours *gratis* to promote such a useful design. And here I cannot but join with John Major in being surprized at the inattention of our Scottish Prelates, who had never thought of such an undertaking before. Our country had not been destitute of capable men; and other nations had been the better of them. But the misfortunes of the times, and the imposition of the Popes had, it seems, so harassed the country in former ages, that the Bishops had no leisure to form such beneficial plans. Indeed their necessary attendance on the public service, and their forced obedience to the repeated, and oft times contradictory, mandates

Jo. Major,
b. 6. c. 10.

of the court of Rome, engrossed the most of their attention, and prevented their turning their thoughts to their own national and more immediate concerns. However this was a laudable beginning, and Bishop Wardlaw has the honour of paving the way for subsequent foundations of the like kind.

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All this time the Papal Schism continued. The council of Pisa had indeed deposed Benedict and Gregory: But they both denied the deposing power; and how was the question to be decided? The court of Rome to this day rejects that doctrine, and will not allow that even a general council can depose the Pope. And upon the general principles of their church, they seem to argue right. For how can a body cut off its head and set up another? Gregory XIII. they must own, had been regularly chosen, and tho' the council of Pisa had charged him with falsifying his oath by not renouncing the papacy, yet he could plead that his oath was only conditional, in case of Benedict's doing so too, and consequently not binding when that condition was not fulfilled. Thus each of the three had something to say, if not for themselves, yet against their competitors. John kept his court at Rome, Gregory at Rimini, and Benedict at Avignon, which Clement VI. had bought from the King of France for his successors use.

To remedy these disorders, if possible, the Emperor Sigismund, who countenanced the re-identer at Rome, prevailed with John, partly by persuasion, partly by threats, to call a council. Which accordingly he did, and appointed to meet at Constance in Germany in the

LETTER XXV. month of December 1414. This was a numerous convention, and sat a long time. Delegates were sent to it from all the nations of the three obediences, and they put a great deal of business thro' their hands. John was the only one of the three Popes who appeared at it, and for some sessions was allowed the honour to preside in it, till finding how matters were likely to go, he threw off his pontifical habit, and fled out of Constance in disguise. But not being in a condition to dispute the council's proceedings, he submitted to their discipline, confirmed their sentences, and resigned the chair. In the eighth session, the council after examination condemned Wickliff's doctrines, stigmatized his memory, and ordered his bones, if they could be distinguished, to be taken up and burnt. This was at best but a pitiful revenge, and shews to what lengths of ill-nature superstition will go. It is true, these doctrines gave great offence, both from the nature of them, and the reception they were now meeting with. They had been carried into Bohemia by a gentleman of that country, who had studied at Oxford in Wickliff's time: and some years after one Peter Paine an Englishman went over to Bohemia with Wickliff's writings, and made a great number of converts there to his persuasion.

Among others who espoused these tenets, was John Hus, a Bohemian divine, and a man of great character for learning and probity. He was Principal of the college of Prague, and much esteemed by Wenceslaus King of Bohemia, who was the Emperor's elder brother. But being suspected of favouring Wickliff and

opposing

opposing transubstantiation, he was summoned to the council, and came to it under the protection of a solemn *Safe-conduct* from the Emperor, which Wenceslaus insisted on, both for his going and returning, before he would send him. Here he was again and again examined upon the condemned articles, and numbers of captious and ensnaring questions were put to him; all which he answered in the scholastic style, so as neither to deny his doctrines in the main, nor yet lay himself open to a plain and direct conviction of heresy, notwithstanding of the cunning attempts made by the Cardinal of Cambray, who now presided in the council, to entrap him by metaphysical distinctions and subtilties of Aristotle. Yet as Hufs was a man of some eminence, and his abilities dangerous, he was found guilty by the council, and according to form delivered over to the secular arm: Upon which he was degraded, and by the express sentence of the very man who had given him his protection, publicly burnt at a stake. This affair made a great noise at the time, and has been much talked of ever since. The council of Constance has been much inveighed against on this score by one class of writers, and as strenuously defended by another. But, not to enter into the merits of the cause, there was certainly breach of faith in it some-where or other, and if the blame of it shall be taken off from the council, it must ly upon the Emperor, tho' even in this case the council will not be found altogether faultless. For allowing them the full and entire privilege of proceeding against Hufs as a heretic, and finding him, upon their conviction, liable to the sentence of the law, they ought, in the character

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character of clergymen and spiritual guides, to have put the Emperor in mind of the necessity of keeping his promise to the man; and to have publickly expressed their disapprobation of his perfidy, when he broke it. Instead of which, in their nineteenth session, they publish a salvo for the Emperor's conscience, as well knowing it much needed one, by emitting this sturdy declaration, "That the Prince who has granted the *Safe-conduct*, provided he has done his part, is no farther obliged by his promise." How far this removes the imputation I shall not say: Only with respect to those who attempt to vindicate the burning of Hufs as being no breach of faith, but quite fair and consistent with moral honesty, it may warrantably be said, that these vindicators give their adversaries fair warning not to trust to safe-conducts, or promises of any kind, when such interpreters as they have the management.

But it was not in his person only that John Hufs was injured. His character also has suffered by misrepresentation of his doctrines, not only in the article of the Eucharist, in which he seems to have been orthodox enough, tho' he could not go the length of all the metaphysical niceties required of him, but also in another position ascribed to him, "That no Prince or Magistrate has title to civil jurisdiction, while under the guilt of mortal sin, that is, if he be a wicked man." But those who accuse the followers of Wickliff of this unjustifiable doctrine, forget that, tho' they had really maintained so, yet the doctrine is not peculiar to them, nor a novelty in itself. Pope Gregory VII, in his scandalous disputes with the Emperor had advanced this maxim, "That the

"least

"least christian who is virtuous is more truly a LETTER
 "King than a King who is wicked, because such XXV.

"a person is no longer a King but a tyrant."

And before him, Pope Nicholas I. in an official letter to Adventius Bishop of Metz about obeying Kings, has these words, "You say you

"submit yourself to the King, because the scripture enjoins you, and you are in the right: But

"take care that Kings and Princes be truly so:

"Look first how they govern themselves, and

"then how they govern their subjects: See if

"they be good Princes: Otherwise you ought

"to hold them for tyrants, and to resist them in-

"stead of submitting to them." What stronger

things have Wickliff or Hufs said, admitting the

worst sense that can be put upon their expressions?

Indeed the more moderate of the Romanists

disfown these principles, and the Abbé Fleury, in

one of his admirable discourses, pathetically la-

ments the destructive consequences of them. I do

not pretend to vindicate Wickliff or any one who

may have vented such opinions; It is the fact I

am concerned with; and the fact cannot be de-

nied. So let the church of Rome look well to

its own Popes, who set the example of this per-

icious doctrine to Wickliff, and the same con-

demnation or extenuation will serve for both.

Another great and general topic of clamour

against this council of Constance, is their making

a formal decree to debar the laity from partaking

of the Eucharistic cup. It seems this practice, so

manifestly contrary to positive command and con-

tinued obedience for many ages, had been, by

connivance and corrupt interpretation, gradually

creeping into the Romish church. But hitherto

there had been no interposition of express authority

about

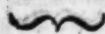
LETTER about it; and many remonstrances had been made
 XXV. and petitions offered against it, where it had been
 imperceptibly introduced. Therefore, to bar the
 door for the future against any expectation of the
 old and instituted privilege of receiving the com-
 munion of the blood of Christ, in and by the
 sanctified cup of blessing, this assembly boldly de-
 crees, "That it is not to be doubted but that the
 " body and blood of Christ are entire, under
 " the single and separate species of either the
 " bread or the wine;" pronounces them heretics
 who shall affirm the contrary; and excommuni-
 cates any of the clergy who shall after this take
 upon them to communicate the laity in both
 kinds. This impudent decree, in direct opposi-
 tion to an express institution of Christ, will be a
 lasting reproach on the council of Constance.
 Tho' to preserve some appearance of modesty
 they grant that it is in the power of the church
 to reverse this decree, and to allow the ancient
 practice. In both these transactions, of burning
 Huss, and taking the cup from the laity, this coun-
 cil is universally received as *general* by all the va-
 rious parties of the Romish communion. But
 the original design of their assembling has caused
 a strange division. This was to put an end to
 the unhappy schism which had lasted so long
 and which they saw could not be closed by aban-
 doning either of the competitors, or admitting an
 plea, just or not, that they could make for them-
 selves. They therefore resolved to set all the
 three aside, and in order to lay a proper founda-
 tion for this arduous undertaking, they solemnly
 decree, "That this synod being assembled un-
 " der the assistance of the Holy Spirit, con-
 " sulting a lawful general council, and represent-

" i

ing the Catholic church militant, has an im-
 mediate authority from Christ: To which sy-
 nodical authority all persons of what degree,
 quality or order so ever, the *Papal Dignity* not
 excepted, are bound to submit in things relat-
 ing to faith and extirpation of schism, and in
 whatever tends to a reformation of manners
 in the church, both in the head and members."

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This deadly blow at the Pope's absolute sove-
 reignty gives great offence to the court of Rome;
 and tho' the church of France receives the whole
 of this council as general, and has built her fa-
 mous declaration of 1682 upon its decisions, yet
 the Jesuit party, Cajetan, Bellarmin, and the rest
 of them, reject the first sessions of it, in which
 this rebellious decree was passed. So that now
 there are two different sets of writers in the
 Romish church, whom the Protestants have to
 contend with: One set, who admit every doc-
 trinal article of the council of Constance, but
 in opposition to her Canon of discipline, main-
 tain the Pope to be both supreme and infallible:
 And another set who receive the council of Con-
 stance in whole, and tho' they own the Pope to
 be the head of the church, yet in conformity to
 that council's determination, allow that he is nei-
 ther infallible in his judgment, nor above refor-
 mation in his morals. This distinction is of great
 use to their controversial writers in their disputes
 with Protestants, as they can fly to either side for
 shelter, according as they find themselves pushed:
 And there is no dealing with any individual of
 them, till it be first known what side of the ques-
 tion he is to stand by, or, in other words, whe-
 ther he be a French or an Italian Papist. Yet
 they all make great boasts of their unity, and pre-
 tend

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tend to be all of one and the same communion, by adhering to the Pope as the head of the church and vicar of Christ upon earth: Not remembering that at the same rate the old Arians might have claimed unity of communion with the orthodox, as both of them received Christ, and believed him to be the one Mediator between God and man: But in very different respects; since the one class believed him to be God, the other made a creature of him. Could there be unity betwixt these two? Or could their common belief in Christ under such opposite characters constitute them one church? So is it with the Papists. They all adhere to the Pope, they say, and acknowledge him: But one party believes him infallible, another fallible, a distinction not very unlike to that between God and creature. Where then is the ground for unity? Or what article of difference is there among all the denominations of Protestants, more incapable of reconciliation or agreement, than this capital one of the church of Rome? It was in consequence of this bold decree passed in the council of Constance, that they proceeded to the actual deposition of all the three pretending Popes, and unanimously elected Martin V. in their stead. So Gregory resigned his title, after some little contest, and died at Recanati before the council broke up. John was carried into prison, but made his escape and went to Florence, where he threw himself at the new Pope's feet, by whom he was made a Cardinal, and died soon after. But Benedict the oldest of the three still maintained his claim, and gave Martin not a little trouble for seven years.

At last, after finishing this important business, and in some measure settling the outward

peace

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peace of the church, this famous council rose in the year 1418, and the several delegates returned to their own homes. But before they broke up, they sent over the Abbot of Pontignac to Scotland, to reduce our church to the obedience of the council, and to withdraw her from Benedict, who at that time had but few adherents besides. At the same time Benedict himself wrote to the governor and the estates, desiring them to stand by him against all opposition. My author says, the governor favoured him much: and it is not to be wondered at if he did. The nation had long acknowledged him, even for twenty years and upwards. Some of our Bishops had received consecration from his hands, as Bishop Wardlaw of St. Andrews, Bishop Innes of Moray, and Bishop Lauder of Glasgow, and none of them had seen any reason hitherto to renounce him. So, it was no wonder if they wished at least that a cause which they had so long espoused should be duly discussed before they gave it up. Accordingly in a convention of the whole estates at Perth, one Robert Harding a Franciscan Friar, appeared for Benedict, and defended his title by no fewer than ten arguments, which to shew the way of reasoning in those days, I shall here lay before you. "1. If Benedict should resign, he would throw his subjects into the peril of eternal damnation. 2. According to the due course of justice, Benedict ought to be fully reponed, before he be bound to resign. 3. If after the council, Benedict had been notoriously negligent, the Scottish Prelates have right to proceed against; and to remove him if he be incorrigible, in which case, and upon his

Scotichron.
l. xv. c. 24.

Ut supra.

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“deposition, the Prelates of his obedience have power to chuse the one Pope. 4. After Benedict’s removal, Martin ought to exhibit his titles to the papacy to the Scottish church before he can claim her obedience. 5. Benedict condemned the council of Constance so that the prelates there could not make an union in the church without the prelates of Scotland. 6. They who received collation to benefices from Benedict, and afterwards gave over to Martin, are no better than scorpions. 7. As long as John continues in prison, there can be no union in the church without suspicion. 8. Tho’ Benedict were notoriously negligent, the rights of the church universal would descend to the members of his obedience. 9. Because it is only they who can be called catholics, and all others are both schismatics and heretics. 10. Benedict has never been negligent in what respected the union of the church, neither during the council nor before.” Such were the defences upon Benedict’s side. On the other hand, John Fogo a Monk of Melross preached and argued against these defences, in much the same manner that Harding had proposed them. The issue of all which was, that on Harding’s dying soon after at Lanerk, which Fogo and his party interpreted in their own favour, “the contradiction says my author, “ceased, and so but last of all the Scottish church forsook Benedict and adhered to Martin, in which her steadiness of behaviour is much talked of and approved by all.”

Thus we see how our church stood at this time, adhering indeed to a Pope for the sake

of regularity and order, but not with such a LETTER
 slavish degree of subjection to him as to oppose XXV.
 what she thought the voice of the whole church
 speaking in a general council. The Pope whom
 she stood by, had always been on the schis-
 matical side according to the present Romish
 reckoning of the succession. And yet we hear
 of no censures nor interdicts from the other
 side during the competition, no formal recon-
 ciliations nor absolutions proposed when the
 breach was made up. I do not mean by this
 observation to insinuate that our church was
 not Popish all this time, as she certainly did
 acknowledge a Pope, which is no doubt the
 distinguishing mark of Popery. But this Pope
 was, in some sense, of her own chusing; one
 who, she believed, had received the necessary
 powers, thro' a continuance of succession, and
 whom upon that account she was willing for
 the sake of peace and unity, to live in com-
 munion with, and in some measure to depend
 upon. Her sister church of England was of
 the other communion, and adhered to the se-
 veral Popes of that side, to Boniface IX. In-
 nocent VII. Gregory XII. Alexander V. and
 John XXIII. who were all in opposition to the
 Scottish Benedict. Yet the two churches, with
 all this difference of principle about Popes, held
 communion with one another, and agreed in
 what was then the established doctrine, and in
 condemning whatever had been branded as
 Heresy. For we see the one nation burning
 Heretics as well as the other, and Bishop
 Wardlaw of St. Andrews as zealous against the
 Lollards in Scotland when they appeared, as A-
 rundel of Canterbury was in England. Can it
 be

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be thought that they then entertained the same notions of the Pope's personal infallibility and absolute supremacy, which had been claimed by him in former times, and which his flatterers attribute to him at this day? And what if one of these national churches had, in those times of division, owned no Pope at all? Could that have broken communion, or thrown her out of the membership of the catholic church? Upon their own principles it could not: For between a false Pope and no Pope there is no difference, in the estimation of the Popes themselves. None of Benedict's opponents looked upon him in the light of a Pope or head of the church, and he treated every one of them in the same manner. Whatever might be the opinion of their respective adherents, as to where the headship lay, the competitors all assumed it to themselves, and acted to one another accordingly.

But the decision of the council of Constance whether just or not, put an end to this controversy for a while, and brought matters in some measure out of their former confusion: so our church joined now with the rest, in submitting to one Pope as appointed by a general council, and on that footing, accountable to it. In consequence of which we find a national council held at Perth on the sixteenth of July 1420, by William Stephen Bishop of Dunblaine, conservator, and in that character president of it: and we are told, all the decrees or statutes passed in it, were sealed with the Bishop's seals. But what these statutes were does not appear. There is one act mentioned in it about the *Quotes of Testament*, which was

the privilege the Bishops had long been in possession of, and which it seems, still needed some regulation. But the main thing worthy of your notice about this council is, that it was held by the inherent authority of our own church without the presence or presidency of any foreign Legate whatever. And from this time forward, we meet with no foreigner sitting at the head of our synods, and domineering over our Bishops with that pomp of Romish pride which had been seen in former days. The late divisions had brought the Popes a step lower in their pretensions, and had opened peoples eyes to see and re-assert the antient rights and liberties of the church, which had been invaded and trampled upon for so many ages.

I am &c.

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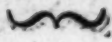
L E T T E R XXVI.

*James I. released from his Captivity in England
 —Reforms Abuses both in Church and
 State—Persecution of the Followers of Wickli
 and Hufi—Council of Basle makes a ne
 rupture in the Papal See—James I. barba
 rously murdered.*

A.D. 1420.

IN the national assembly held at Perth, mentioned in the preceding letter, consultations were renewed, about the redemption of the King, a matter of the utmost importance to the kingdom. For all this time, since the death of his father, he was a captive in England. And tho' his first ungenerous detainer Henry IV. had died in the year 1413, yet the next successor in that usurping line Henry V. continued his father's injustice, and obliged James to attend him, in person, to his wars in France, with a view to withdraw the Scottish troops from assisting the French, by using the influence and orders of their King, whom he had in his army. But in this for

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did view Henry was disappointed: For James LETTER
bravely, and with a spirit of true magnanimi- XXVI.
ty, told him that he neither would as a King, 
nor could as a prisoner, give any orders to his
subjects, but would leave them to give all the
assistance they were able to a nation which
had always been friendly to them. Upon which
Henry brought him back with him to Eng-
land, and returned him to his former confine-
ment. However, upon Henry's death in the
year 1422, and leaving an infant heir of scarce
a year old, the English administration saw it
for their interest to part with their royal cap-
tive, and so engage his friendship by liberty,
which they could make nothing of by res-
traint. He had been married about a year
before to an English lady of the Lancastrian
line of their royal family, and now upon con-
cluding the negotiation for his release, the
dowry which he should have got with his
Queen was retained for the one half of his
ransom, and hostages sent up for the other.
Under these burdensome conditions, of a piece
with the rest of the unhandsome usage he had met
with, he at last returned to his native country and A.D. 1424
throne, after eighteen years absence from both.

Upon his return he immediately set about rec-
tifying the abuses which had been countenanced
during the weak management of his cousin Mur-
doch, who had succeeded Robert his father in
the government of the kingdom during the King's
exile. And to begin with the strict and impar-
tial execution of justice, he ordered Murdoch to
undergo a formal trial by his peers; the con-
sequence of which was, that he was condemned
for mal-administration, and publicly put to death.

LETTER XXVI.  Two of his sons were found guilty, and shared the same fate. This was a necessary, however disagreeable, act of severity; for both Murdoch and his father might have relieved the King long before it was done, if their ambition and desire to aggrandize their own family had not kept them back from doing their duty to their Sovereign, and led them into fundry illegal acts, to the prejudice of the crown, which now brought their family to ruin. The next care which the King took was to provide, as far as he could, for the interests of literature and the well-being of the church. With this view he visited the lately erected university of St. Andrews, countenanced the public disputations with his presence and approbation, and ordered that the Professors in Divinity and Canon Law should take care to recommend none to ecclesiastical preferments but such as were most capable and worthy in their several faculties. He likewise contributed to improve the church music, in which himself was a great adept, and was the first who brought organs into our churches. Thus by his statutes, by his countenance and example, he did what lay in his power to reform whatever was amiss either in church or state, and to put things in both, on as decent and regular a footing as possible. Boece tells us of a convention of the States at Perth, called on purpose to retrench the luxury and extravagance in apparel and feasting, which the English in the Queen's retinue had brought into Scotland with them, and he puts a long and eloquent speech into Bishop Wardlaw's mouth on the occasion.— This shews that the advantages of the King's English education and connections were not then thought so highly of, as our own countrymen in their

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their histories of England represent them, but that all the national improvements were owing to his own penetration and judgment, and to the force of a wise and good example. For it is universally agreed of him, that he discouraged every kind of intemperance and extravagance by his practice, being in his own person the plainest, the most sober, and most abstemious man in the whole kingdom. It would seem however, notwithstanding of the King's strictness and attention to the concerns of the church, that, after all the rigour of the council of Constance against John Hufs, and under all the terrors of law that lay heavy on the followers of Wicliff in Britain, the opinions of these men were still gaining ground, and people were venturing to disseminate them thro' all Europe. For in the year 1433 one Paul Craw a Bohemian was brought before Bishop Wardlaw, and being convicted of teaching the doctrines of Wickliff and Hufs, was fixed to the stake and burnt. Boece says, the King was mightily pleased with this execution, and gave the abbacy of Melross to John Fogo, for his activity in confuting this heretic, and bringing him to punishment. But the continuator of Fordun, who lived at the time, gives the glory of his confutation to the old inquisitor Laurence Lindoris, who was now Professor of the Common Law in St. Andrews, and who, he says, allowed the heretics and Lollards no rest throughout the kingdom. However they both agree, that Craw was sent from Bohemia on purpose. For on hearing of the murder of Hufs, the Bohemians were so enraged at the violation of the safe-conduct, and the scandalous prohibition of the sacramental cup, that they threw off the Romish communion, and

LETTER
XXVI.Scotichron:
l. xvi. c. 25.

LETTER XXVI. openly declared war against the abettors of it, which was carried on with various success for many years, and created no little trouble to the Pope and his adherents. And now, it seems they sent this man into our country to strengthen their party, and thereby in some measure to fortify themselves against the persecutions of their enemies. Abbot Bower says, he came recommended as an expert physician, and that he was well acquainted with the scriptures, and remarkably ready in quoting them.

At this time the council of Basil was sitting, according to one of the ordinances of the late council of Constance, which decreed that another council should meet somewhere within seven or ten years, for keeping matters in the settled state into which that council had put them. And Pope Martin having given his consent to that decree, did now, tho' against his inclination, appoint the meeting to be at Basil in Switzerland, which accordingly began in 1430, and sat nine years. The first thing they did was to confirm their superiority over the Pope, by repeating the famous decree of Constance, and by a new argument proposed by the Bishop of Burgos, the Spanish representative who, drawing a comparison from the state observed, "That as in every well ordered kingdom it is specially to be desired that the whole realm should be of more authority than the King, otherwise it were not to be called a kingdom but a tyranny, so likewise ought the whole church to have more authority than the Prince thereof, that is, than the Pope." This is the argument, as given us by the martyrologist Fox who commends the strength of it, and it is not my business at present to argue against it.

I only mention it, to shew what source the doctrine of the people's power over Kings flows from, and to whom they are obliged for the original invention and first use of it. LETTER XXVI.

To this council deputies were admitted from the Bohemian malcontents, among whom was Paine the Englishman, craving a redress of grievances, and begging to have these four petitions granted, 1. That the Eucharist should be administered to them in both kinds. 2. That none beneath Priests should be allowed to preach. 3. That ecclesiastics should have no endowments nor temporal jurisdiction. 4. That public crimes should be punished by none but the magistrates. The success of the Bohemian arms at home had frightened the council into this concession, contrary to the otherwise standing practice of the Romish church, not to admit any prohibited articles to a second examination. But this admission of the Bohemian delegates, so apparently injurious to the council of Constance, and the renewing the supremacy of the council, so highly mortifying to papal pride, irritated Pope Eugenius IV. who had succeeded Martin, to that degree that, tho' he had at first given his countenance to the council's sitting, he now published a Bull for dissolving it, and appointed one to meet at Bologna in Italy, within a year. This began a woeful quarrel: The council fighting against the Pope with citations and threatnings, and the Pope defending himself the best way he could with his usual weapons of Bulls and excommunications. When the rupture was thus found to be incurable, the council chose the Cardinal of Arles their president, and after struggling some years with Eugenius.

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genius, who all the time shuffled and prevailed, in such a way as disgusted the few friends he had, the president at last, in name of the council, pronounced a formal sentence of deposition against him, in which they declare him "contumacious, disobedient to the decrees of the universal church, violator of the holy canons, disturber of ecclesiastical peace and unity, simoniac, perjured, incorrigible schismatic, pertinacious heretic, injurious to the holy see, &c." And then they unanimously elected Amadeus Duke of Savoy, who out of devotion had resigned his dominions to his son, and upon his being now chosen Pope took the name of Felix V. In this contest all Europe was again involved. England sided with Eugenius, the Emperor, France and Spain supported the council: And it would appear that our church was upon that side too, by their admittig a deputation from the council in the person of the famous Æneas Sylvius, who, tho' he afterwards altered his mind, and came to be Pope himself by the name of Pius II. and as fierce a Pope too as ever any of his predecessors had been, yet all the time he was in Scotland, he was a keen and laborious defender of the council both with his tongue and pen. Bishop Leslie indeed, in his life of James the first, says "he was sent legate to our King by Eugenius" "legationem ad Regem nostrum ab Eugenio" "obibat." But the writer of his life, who had been secretary to him while he was Pope, tells us that he came to Basil with Cardinal Capranica in the year 1431, and afterwards was secretary to Cardinal Albergotti, who sent him from Basil to Scotland to manage the council's affairs.

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His own letters likewise shew that he had no concern with Eugenius, yea that he was actually engaged on his return from Scotland in the service of his rival Felix, and had never so much as seen Eugenius, till he was sent by the Emperor Frederic to him in the year 1442 with proposals of an accommodation. So that from the activity of such an agent, and the kind reception which he acknowledges he met with here, it is more than probable our church would be of his sentiments, and think as well of the council at Basil, as it is certain, he at that time did. Yet Mr. Collier, in his account of this council, positively says that "Scotland, excepting a few Lords, acknowledged Eugenius, and so vigorously abetted his title, that the Bishops in a provincial council excommunicated Felix." Where Mr. Collier met with this provincial council, he has not told us. Our countryman Mr Thomas Innes, who had as good opportunities and as great inclination to search into these matters as most people, has not, among all the histories and records he perused for that purpose, found any council in Scotland between the years 1420 and 1457, which space takes in all the time that this commotion lasted. And another of our writers, the continuator of Fordun, who wrote at the very time, speaks of the affair as being then undetermined. This schism, he says, "between Eugenius IV. deposed by the council of Basil, and Felix V. whom they elected in his stead, began in 1438, and still subsists this year 1443." and again "adhuc sub judice lis est &c. the controversy is still undecided, on which account the church of God is exposed to scandal

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Collier,
b. vi. p. 67r.

Crit. Essay,
p. 594, 596.

Scotichron.
l. xvi. c. 6.

LETTER. "dal and much defamed by the laity." *

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As long as the Emperor Sigismund lived, the council of Basil kept up their authority, and their Pope Felix was honoured and owned and applied to by the greatest part of Europe. The other Pope Eugenius all the time stood stiff to his pretensions likewise and paid no regard to the council proceedings. For even while he lay under the

* This author gives us a detail of no fewer than twenty schisms about the Papacy, with some mistakes indeed in chronology, which was not much attended to in his day, but at the same time containing some observations not unworthy of notice, as appears from his way of narrating the very first he mentions. "The first schism, he says, began in 349 in the time of the Emperor Constantius and of Pope Felix II. His Antipope was Liberius the Arian, who yet at first had been catholic, but after the death of Felix by the divine vengeance burst asunder, and his bowels gushed out." This is a singular account of the affair, and quite contrary to all that is to be met with about it in the church-historians, who with one voice place Liberius in the canonical line of succession, while they dissent about admitting Felix into the list at all. For tho' Abbe Fleury observes that neither Optatus nor Augustine put Felix into the catalogue of the Bishops of Rome, without giving us his own opinion, yet our Bishop Lesslie, in setting down the names of the Popes who sat during the reigns of our supposed christ-king, mentions Felix II. immediately after Liberius. What Abbot Bower means by calling Liberius an Antipope is not easy to find out, as he was certainly ordained, and without dispute too, before Felix, unless we shall suppose that he thought his turning Arian, which he expressly says he did, forfeited his character, and left the chair fairly vacant for Felix to fill. What ever reasons the man might have had for his speaking thus of Liberius, it is worthy of observation that we here find a Pope acknowledged as such, yet directly pronounced an Arian. Hereby an old Scottish writer, and him too neither Wickliffite or Hussite, neither Lutheran nor Calvinist, nor liable to any of the opprobrious names which the highflown Romanists retort all arguments with, but one who, by his way of disputing against Rome, appears to have been sufficiently sanguine on the Pope's side, as we would say, a staunch enough Papist.

Hist. Eccl.

B. xiv. S. 7.

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council's sentence, he held a meeting of his party at Florence, where the Greek Emperor Palæologus in person, and a number of deputies from the Eastern church attended. In this assembly a sort of union was patched up between the Pope and them, and the Greeks were artfully persuaded to give up the contended points of doctrine, and even to acknowledge the Pope's supremacy in as extensive a sense as the court of Rome could desire. But this answered no end: For no sooner were these delegates got home again, than they declaimed against the trick put upon them, and retracted their subscriptions. Their compliance at Florence was disowned by the patriarchs, and by all the body of the Greek church, and the two churches were soon as different and disunited as ever.

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Upon Sigismund's death, the authority of the council of Basil began to decline. And his successor Frederic inclining to have the breach made up, Eugenius, who was a violent man, took advantage of this disposition, and would hearken to no agreement whatever. But his successor Nicholas V. whom his conclave elected on his death, being of a more pacific turn, and the competitor Felix being prevailed upon, as he was a good-natured man, to give up his claim, the rupture was at last healed, after some years of division, and all Europe returned once more to the obedience of one single and unrivalled Pope.

I have laid all these incidents together, to give a view at once of this famous council at Basil, with all the most material proceedings and consequences of it, where we cannot but observe a strange and unaccountable behaviour, and an unrelenting struggle for dignity and power on both

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fides, to the neglect of the more important articles of faith and reformation, especially in the earnestly desired concession of favouring the laity with the old privilege of the Eucharistic cup.— It is no wonder that the Popish writers are divided in their opinions about this council, as upon their common principles they cannot well sustain a council to be general which could take upon them to depose and excommunicate a Pope, whom their church to this day acknowledges to have been all his time a true and lawful Pope, and in that character places in the roll of canonical succession. And what increases the difficulty is, that the very president of this council, the Cardinal of Arles, who had the principal hand in its decisions, and pronounced the sentence of deposition against Eugenius, is said to have wrought miracles after his death, and on that account was beatified, as they call it, by Pope Clement VII. in less than a hundred years after that sentence, notwithstanding that Clement's lawful predecessor Eugenius had, in his council at Florence, issued out a Bull of excommunication against this man, and pronounced him a son of iniquity and child of hell. Such is the confusion in which their system, by their holding so tenaciously to it, unavoidably entangles them; and so impossible is it for them, with any degree of consistency, to extricate themselves out of the palpable absurdities which these undeniable facts so clearly fix upon their incoherent principles.

While this council of Basil was sitting, and the Western church thus, as it were, tearing herself to pieces, our church and state both felt a most lamentable shock at home. Our great and good King James the first was most barbarously murdered,

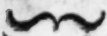
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dered, by a band of assassins, on the twenty first of February 1437, in the forty sixth year of his age, and thirteenth of his personal reign. By this horrid murder, which was soon condignly avenged on the execrable perpetrators, our nation was not only deprived of a most excellent governor, but likewise lost the benefit of what further regulations might have been expected from a King of his prudence and resolution. Besides his other virtues, he was a man of great piety, according to the definition of piety in those days. For tho' he regretted, and even as is said blamed the liberality of his predecessors in that way, yet he himself in the year 1429 founded and richly endowed a monastery at Perth for Carthusian Monks, which was the only settlement they ever had in Scotland, and has been corruptly called the *Charterhouse* of Perth.

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L E T T E R XXVII.

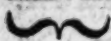
Accession of James II—Quiet State of the Scottish Church in his Reign—St. Salvator's college at St. Andrews founded by Bishop Kennedy—College of Glàsgow begun by Bishop Turnbull—Invention of the art of Printing—K. James killed by an Accident at Roxburgh—Bad Effects of his Son's Minority—Account of the Promotion and Prosecution of the first Archbishop of St. Andrews—Remarks on that Affair—Tragical end of James III.—Reflections on Buchanan's Account of it.

JAMES I. left only one son James, who at his father's death was scarce seven years of age. This was the cause of much disorder and contention for some years, not who should wear the crown, for that was not disputed, but who should have the management of the kingdom, and the care of the young King. And here all our historians, not excepting Buchanan himself, agree that the Bishops were of great service with their

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good offices, in mediating between the great LETTER
 men, and preventing their differences from break- XXVII.
 ing out into open violence. But especially much
 praise is given, and very deservedly, to Bishop Ken-
 nedy, who had succeeded Wardlaw in the see of
 St. Andrews. This worthy man was nephew to
 the late King by his sister the lady Mary, and was
 as illustrious by his virtues, as he was by his
 birth. He had gone to Florence in the year 1438
 to compose, if possible, the scandalous differences
 between Eugenius and the council of Basil, but
 returned without success: And with the same
 laudable view, when he was Bishop of St. Andrews, A.D. 1446.
 he took a second journey to Italy, to propose
 means for rectifying abuses, and taking away those
 sad divisions which even then subsisted about the
 Papacy. This was what the good men of those
 days always had in their eye, to put a stop to the
 growing corruptions, and to bring about a refor-
 mation among all ranks and orders of the church.
 And had the Pope assisted, or but even permitted
 these pious endeavours, matters would have been
 adjusted in a more quiet and satisfactory way,
 than what arose from the necessities of after-times.
 But the ambition of the court of Rome blasted
 all attempts, and rendered every wish of this na-
 ture abortive. Complaints were frequently made
 of the decay of discipline, and of the many ir-
 regularities that were spreading every where in
 consequence of that decay. The Popes indeed
 made profession of remedying these disorders and
 called councils now and then for that purpose.
 But unless they got every thing managed in their
 own way, and so as to be subservient to their own
 interests, they would allow nothing to be done at
 all, and took care to thwart and disappoint every
 scheme

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scheme that was proposed contrary to their inclinations. To this was owing the little effect of our good Bishop Kennedy's second journey to Italy. Pope Eugenius was too haughty to regard any application of this kind. He who had triumphed over Cardinals and Prelates, assembled in a general council from all the potent states of Europe, would not readily take much notice of a remonstrance from a private Bishop of the obscure church of Scotland. So the honest man, we are told, was obliged to return a second time, with the mortification of a disappointment. But to do as much good as he could in his own sphere, he set himself to the cultivation of religion and learning at home, and to this end in the year 1456 he founded a college at St. Andrews, which he appointed to bear the appellation of St. Salvator. This laudable spirit of providing for the public education of youth was now expanding itself over our country, after Bishop Wardlaw had set the example at St. Andrews. For, four years before this additional erection by Bishop Kennedy, Bishop Turnbull of Glasgow began the university of Glasgow, which since his time has been much augmented by various and bountiful donations.

To the pious and prudent counsels of our Bishops at this time, such as this Bishop Kennedy, Bishop Lindsay of Aberdeen, Bishop Winchester of Moray, and Bishop Spence of Galloway, who were all men of great account, we may ascribe that calm and quiet state of the church during all this reign, which presents us with no intestine divisions among our churchmen at home, and no idle contests that they were engaged in abroad.—Even Bishop Cameron of Glasgow whom Buchanan represents as a very worldly man, and a great oppressor,

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oppressor, and who was cut off by a terrible death, yet from other accounts, and in the judgment of other writers, seems to have been a man of a very different character. He was one of the delegates from this church at the council of Basil, was many years Chancellor of the kingdom, and did many good services to his see of Glasgow. And all that Buchanan builds this ill-natured story upon, is only common hearsay, which in itself is not very creditable, and coming from such a pen, not easily to be believed.

In this reign there was a national council held at Perth, in which, among other acts, a declaration was made concerning the King's right of nomination to benefices during the vacancies of bishopricks: And two years after, another was held at the same place by the Bishop of Aberdeen Conservator and President, in which the foresaid declaration was renewed.

In this reign too, the Eastern church met with a dreadful calamity by the Turks taking Constantinople, where the Emperor Constantine Palæologus was slain, and an end put to the Eastern empire, about eleven hundred and thirty years after it had been set up by Constantine the Great. But the Western church reaped considerable advantages from this catastrophe, by the numbers of clergy and learned men who fled from the hands of the barbarians, and brought with them many valuable writings of the old Greek Fathers, which had not been known in the West before. Such were Emanuel Chrysoloras, Georgius Trapezuntius, Theodorus Gaza, John Argyropulus, Marcus Musurus, Demetrius Chalcondyles, and many others, who taught the Greek language either in private families or in public universities in

LETTER in Germany and Italy, and thereby rubbed off
XXVII. a great deal of that rust which the monastic method of study had brought upon the Belle Lettrés. But particularly, great thanks are due to a Johannes Lafcaris, a descendant of the Imperial family of that name, who was commissioned by Laurence of Medicis, that illustrious patron of learning, to the Turkish Sultan Bajazet II. and by his address and interest with that Monarch, who, amidst all the ruggedness of his nation, had some taste for literature, got a liberty to search all the known repositories of the East for every thing that might be thought curious or useful in the polite arts, but especially in the affairs of the church. Accordingly, with this liberty, and with much travel, he recovered and brought to Italy a precious collection of manuscripts, which the Duke Laurence carefully deposited in his library at Florence, and which has made the *Medicean* library such a famous resource from all quarters of Europe, for discovery and knowledge, ever since.

About this time too the art of printing, which had lately been lighted upon either at Mentz in Germany, or at Harlem in the low countries, (for both these places claim the honour,) was brought into England, and a press set up at Oxford, under the patronage of the Archbishop of Canterbury. This was another lucky circumstance in favour of learning; and coinciding so opportunely with these Eastern discoveries, of which this invention made the communication so much easier than it could formerly have been, soon diffused among all ranks of people such a general thirst for reading, as not only served to refine the taste, but even contributed in a great measure to

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wards that alteration in religious matters which makes such a striking figure in the church annals of the next century. LETTER XXVII.

The fatal discovery of gunpowder made also its first appearance in this reign, and our nation soon felt the dismal effects of it. For while the King was besieging the castle of Roxburgh, which the English were in possession of, he was all of a sudden struck dead by the bursting of one of the newly constructed field-pieces which he had brought before it, on the third of August 1460 in the twenty ninth year of his age, and twenty third of his reign. This sudden death threw the nation again under a minority: By which means it was soon involved in confusion, and exposed to those pernicious consequences of ambition and cabal, which not only distressed the reign of James III. who was but six years old at his father's death, but likewise have been the cause of bringing that odium upon his memory which it lies under with most writers to this day. The Queen-mother, Mary of Gueldres, was an ambitious woman, and did all in her power to get into her hands the government of the kingdom and tutorage of the young King. She was warmly opposed by Bishop Kennedy, whose wisdom and integrity had been highly esteemed in the last reign, and consequently were much listened to and respected in this. While he lived, the different factions were kept under some degree of restraint. But unhappily, even by Buchanan's testimony, both for the King and nation, he was taken away by death in the year 1466, having managed the church and assisted the state twenty six years.— And now the King being arrived at twelve years of age, and deprived of the care and counsel of

LETTER one, whom both as a Prelate and a relation he
 XXVII. had been accustomed to behold with reverence
 and hearken to with pleasure, fell a prey to insi-
 fidious and greedy flatterers, who took the advantage of his youth, and raised themselves at the expence of both his peace and reputation. Many of the new churchmen too, now that they had got free from the restraint of Bishop Kennedy's authority and example, indulged themselves in unbecoming liberties, and shewed little regard either to their character or function. All this soon appeared upon Bishop Kennedy's death and such woful doings were now carried on in our church as had not been heard of in it for many years. Upon the vacancy of St. Andrews, Patrick Graham, who was uterine brother to Kennedy, and at the time bishop of Brechin was chosen to succeed. This man proposed to go to Rome for confirmation: But suspecting that the Boyds, who then ruled the court, and were his bitter enemies, would impede his journey if they knew of it, he ventured to leave the kingdom without the King's licence, which in end proved his overthrow. While he was at Rome, George Nevil Archbishop of York, elated with the power and authority of his brother the Earl of Warwick, who was at this time called the King-maker in England, started anew the antiquated pretensions of his see over the church of Scotland.—But upon Bishop Graham's representations, Pope Sixtus IV. not only renewed the Bulls of exemption in favour of our church, but likewise by an express Bull of his own, erected the see of St. Andrews into a Metropolitan church, with all the other Bishops as its suffragans: And to honour this new primate the more, he appointed him his

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Legate for three years, with commission to rectify the abuses in the church, and reform the dissoluteness of the clergy. With these powers the new Archbishop, after some years stay at Rome, for fear of the Boyds, hearing now of a change at court, thought proper to return, in hopes that his character of Primate and Legate would procure him a proper reception. But in this he was deceived: For the King, who was now eighteen years of age, and had taken the reins of government into his own hands, being stirred up by the Bishops, who, it is said, envied Graham's dignity, and by the inferior clergy who feared his severity, inhibited by his royal authority the publication of the Pope's Bulls, and forbade him to exercise any of these Archiepiscopal powers till the controversy should be properly decided. Neither was this the worst of it. His enemies raised up a William Schevez, a young divine of quick parts and a fiery spirit, to disturb the Archbishop, because he had, on account of insufficiency, refused to install him in the Archdeaconry of St. Andrews, to which he had got the King's nomination. And so far was the spite carried against him, that Locky, the Rector of the university, pretending the Pope's grant of equality of jurisdiction, boldly denounced him excommunicated, and upon his contemning, as he justly might, the invalid sentence, application was made to the King to enforce it. In a word, the poor man was so harassed with prosecutions in the King's courts, and the bankers at Rome distressed him so much for the moneys he had borrowed from them, and which he could not repay for want of his revenues which the King had seized, that it is said, he fell into some trouble of mind, and became unfit

LETTER
XXVI.

LETTER for the execution of his office. Upon which he
XXVII. was accused at Rome, before the same Pope who
 had lately advanced him, and who now, to please
 the King, deprived him of all his dignities, and
 gave the Archbishoprick to Schevez his mortal
 enemy. After this he met with no pity from
 any quarter: But was thrown into close prison,
 first within the island of Inchcolm, from which,
 for fear of escape, he was transported to Dun-
 fermline, and from thence to the castle of Loch-
 levin, where he died in the year 1478, having
 struggled in carrying the empty title of Archbishop
 twelve years.

Such is the substance of this strange story, as
 related by our historians. It contains several
 circumstances worthy of observation, and [which
 may account for some equally strange pieces of
 procedure in after times. It is agreed on all
 hands, that Bishop Graham was a learned and
 worthy man, and even Buchanan commiserated
 his sufferings. But if there had not been too
 much of ambition in his character, he would not
 have accepted, much less have solicited, a title
 which was new and unprecedented in his country
 and which he could not but know would be
 taken in ill part by his brethren. There is cer-
 tainly an error here on his side, and all his after
 hardships seem to have flowed from this first false
 step of his own. It is said the other Bishops op-
 posed him, out of envy. Perhaps they did.
 But whether so or not, their opposition had other
 and good enough grounds to go upon. The Bi-
 shops of Scotland had long been upon a footing
 of equality, with only some degree of respect
 and deference voluntarily paid to the Bishop of
 St. Andrews on account of his see, and out of

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veneration to the name of their patron Apostle, LETTER XXVII.
 which the place had long bore. And now to find one of their own number, and him too not the oldest among them, surreptitiously stealing into precedency, and coming home with titles and powers to which their consents had never been asked, was reason sufficient to put them on their guard against such a new and unnecessary encroachment. They had now for a long tract of time been in use to manage their own matters without a metropolitan, either foreign or domestic, and what they had long done, and that too to good purpose, they might reasonably think they could still do in the old way.

But some will say, the Pope had ordered otherwise; and as they professed obedience to the Pope, they ought in duty to have submitted to the Primate whom he sent them. Yet this was not the first instance in which the Bishops of Scotland had rejected the Pope's appointments of this kind, at the same time that they acknowledged themselves his humble servants. There had been Bulls again and again from Popes in support of the metropolitanical claim of York, which they never regarded, and yet continued as much devoted to the Pope as if they had. The truth is, that the Pope's Bulls were so issued out at random, and to please any favourite or powerful party, that they were seldom minded but by those who had an end to serve by them: And many times the Popes themselves, after they had once given them out of their hands, took no farther notice of them, but like the ostrich with her young, left them to shift for themselves. Such was the case in this very affair. For tho' Sixtus, whether regularly or not, invested Bishop Graham with the primacy

LETTER XXVII. Primacy over all Scotland, and made an Archbishop of him, yet as soon as the tide turned against this Archbishop, the Pope turned too, and homologated the very first accusation that his enemies brought against him. Was this acting the part of a fair and upright judge? Or was it even acting as his Predecessors had often done in such cases? Should he not, as they had used to do, have called the cause to Rome, before himself in person? Or, as was the primitive practice, empowered commissioners to have examined it at home, and given the accused man fair play for his character, and as matters turned out, even for his life. It is true, Bishop Leslie says, the Pope sent a legate into Scotland upon this business: But that was only to put the sentence of condemnation in execution, not to take trial of the complaint, and to hear what the Archbishop had to say for himself. His words are, “*Missus est a Papa in Scotiam legatus Hufmannus dictus, qui Patricium Grahamum St. Andreae Archiepiscopum, Papae Cardinaliumque sententiis damnatum, omni dignitate ordinibusque ecclesiasticis dejiceret, ac schisma, simoniam, aliaque quae in se admisset scelera, perpetuo carcere vindicari juberet.*” So that Hufman was not the Pope’s inquisitor, as Spotswood calls him, but by Bishop Leslie’s account, his executioner, to degrade a man who had been condemned by the Pope and his Cardinals for schism, simony and many other crimes, and to adjudge him to perpetual imprisonment. Indeed I am surprized at Bishop Leslie’s way of narrating this affair, without throwing in the least word of sympathy or concern for the harsh treatment that Graham met with. But it was a Pope’s doings, and to Bishop Leslie that was enough.

However,

However to other people who have not their eyes LETTER XXVII.
dazzled with the glare of papal splendor, the whole of this procedure will appear to be no better than one continued mass of confusion, and of such double dealing upon all hands, as is enough to disgrace the Annals of any church: And I cannot see how or by what excuse any of the parties concerned can be fully vindicated.

The Pope certainly was rash, not to call it worse, in all the steps he took in it; first in lifting up Bishop Graham too high, and then in throwing him so very far down. Graham himself, I suspect, had been rather forward in his application, and had, unadvisedly, entangled himself in the difficulties that overwhelmed him. Even the other Bishops, tho' I would willingly account for their behaviour upon such grounds as might be consistent with their character, yet by their after conduct in submitting to the very title in Schevez which they had opposed in Graham, discover something which shuts the door against any apology that otherwise might be offered for them. The young King, now past the twentieth year of his age, tho' generally blamed for his harshness to his blood-relation, seems to be as little culpable in the affair as any of them all. It was a right belonging to his crown, and had been confirmed by statute in his father's time, to have the management of the church-revenues in time of a vacancy: And it had been customary with his predecessors in Scotland, and with the neighbouring Kings of England, to seize these temporalities and keep them in their own hands, when the elect Bishop was not agreeable to them.

I am not to argue for or against this practice. It was the misfortune of the times, and as heavy

LETTER heavy a misfortune as ever the church groaned
XXVII. under, to have two such jarring interests to attend
to, and to be obliged to depend upon the Pope
in spirituals, and in temporals upon the King.—

When these two patrons happened to agree, it did tolerably well: But when they differed, as was too often the case, the consequences were lamentable. The Pope claimed the disposal of spirituals, and this the Kings never contended with him: But his disposal of the temporalities was never yielded to, but thro' force and with reluctance. When therefore the spiritual powers were given by the one, and the temporal encouragements, which are thought so necessary, kept back by the other, what could be expected in the end but strife and disorder? So difficult is it to serve two masters so opposite to one another, I shall not say as God and Mammon, but as the Popes and Kings of those days for the most part were. From the beginning it was not so. The church at first was independent of both, and owned no master but the ONE who is truly so. For this *One* she had now got two, and the effects of the change have been often and severely felt. Poor Archbishop Graham fell a sacrifice to the competition. The debts, which he had foolishly contracted at Rome, to support an idle and unnecessary grandeur, lay heavy upon him when he was denied the revenues which he trusted to for the payment of them; and the Pope's forsaking him under the cloud of royal displeasure, which his regard for the papal dignity had brought upon him, could not but affect him deeply, and perhaps threw him into that state of incapacity which was charged against him.

But whatever shall be said of the rest of the

actors

actors in this scene, the part acted by Schevez the principal agent admits of no vindication. The man indeed succeeded in his views, and got himself invested with the Archiepiscopal pall at Holyroodhouse. But how he governed his see in particular, or the church in general, is not much taken notice of: Only, as Archbishop Spotwood observes of him, "his entry being such as we have seen, did not promise much good." Mr. Innes finds a national council spoken of as held or designed to be held at St. Andrews in the year 1487, which was within Schevez's time: But whether he presided, or what was done in it, we are not told. By what was going on in the nation at that time, it would seem that this meeting was designed for no good to the King. His next brother Alexander Duke of Albany had for some years been heading the discontented part of the nobility against him, and Archbishop Schevez, whom he had, in the way we have seen, raised to that dignity, had joined the rebellious faction. They had for some time kept the King a prisoner in the castle of Edinburgh, till on a change of measures he got out of confinement, and the Archbishop with his accomplices were obliged to shift for themselves. Bishop Leslie says, Schevez was compelled after this to resign the Archbishoprick in favour of Andrew Stuart the King's uncle, and to accept the bishoprick of Moray, to which Stuart had been nominated. But Bishop Keith has proved this to be a mistake, by producing sufficient testimonies that they both kept their respective sees without any exchange till their deaths. However it is probable, as I said, from Schevez's intimacy with the Duke of Albany who, by all accounts of him, was certainly a turbulent

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A D. 1478.

See his
Catalogue,

LETTER man, that this proposed meeting to be at St. An
 XXVII. drews, contrary to the standing custom of holding
 their assemblies for the most part at Perth, had
 been designed to act in concert with such of the
 nobility as were now plotting the King's ruin.
 And what soon followed justifies this probability,
 little indeed to Schevez's credit, all things consider-
 ed, but agreeably enough to Spotswood's observa-
 tion concerning him. For the very next year
 the rebellious party, finding their schemes ripe
 for execution, and having got the young Prince
 James, then only fourteen years of age, into their
 hands, collected an army, and fought the King
 with an inferior body of his friends at Bannock-
 burn, where the King had the misfortune to be
 defeated in battle, and was treacherously murder-
 ed in flying for his life, on the eleventh of June
 1488, being the twenty eighth year of his reign,
 and thirty fifth of his age: A man of a mixed
 character, and whose administration one can hard-
 ly endeavour to justify, after the load of disap-
 probation which has been laid upon it. Only
 this much may be said that, whether faulty or
 not, he was certainly unlucky in being distressed
 by his nobles, harassed by his brother, and at
 last driven to the disagreeable necessity of fight-
 ing for his crown and life against a superior ar-
 my of his subjects, with his own son and heir at
 their head. Buchanan says, "his death was at-
 tended with this particular ignominy, that the
 convention of the states voted him to be *justly*
slain, and decreed that they who had taken
 arms against him should never have it im-
 puted to them nor their posterity." But with
 all due deference to Mr. Buchanan's sagacity,
 may it not be asked, who these states were, or
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what kind of convention it was that passed this LETTER
 ignominious vote? He himself tells us that the XXVII.
 King had many friends; the Earls of Huntly and
 Lenox, the Lord Forbes, and others of the great
 men who stood true to him, and sought to avenge
 his death. And to shew that the general opinion
 was not unanimous in favour of this conspiracy,
 Bishop Leslie mentions it as a thing not to be
 passed over in silence, that, "when the conspi-
 rators applied to the old Earl of Douglas,
 "whom James II. had banished, and who, upon
 "his venturing back into the kingdom, had
 "been caught and imprisoned by this King in
 "the monastery of Lindoris, that experienced
 "nobleman dissuaded them all he could, from
 "the attempt, as being not only full of wicked-
 "ness and criminality, but likewise attended with
 "the utmost difficulty and peril, which his own
 "and his family's example might demonstrate
 "to them."

But to yield to Buchanan his favourite point
 of the authority of the states, his observation, one
 should think, tends the other way, and the cau-
 tious decree of his states, instead of adding ig-
 nominy to the King's death, will appear rather
 to throw a suspicion of disgrace upon the per-
 petrators of it. At any rate to say that he was
 "jure cæsus," justly and lawfully slain, is an
 affront upon the human understanding, and upon
 all the principles of religion and morality that
 we have any notion of. Had he fallen in battle,
 and with his sword in his hand, something might
 have been said by such as pay no regard to the
 sacredness of a King's person: But for two or
 three private men to butcher him unarmed, and
 without resistance, when upon their own prin-

LETTER ciples they might have apprehended him and
 XXVII. brought him to public justice, as was done to
 one of his royal posterity, was even then against
 all law and equity, and what no after-sanction
 could render either legal or innocent in the sight
 either of God or man. Besides Buchanan's ex-
 pression is an addition of his own: The original
 act says no such thing: It only bears "that
 " the slaughter done and committed in the field
 " of Stirling, where our Sovereign Lord's father
 " happened to be slain, and others divers his
 " Barons and lieges, was alloutherly in their de-
 " fault and coloured deceit done by him and
 " his perverse council diverse times before the
 " said field." There is no word here of the
 thing being just or lawful with respect to the
 King's particular fate, but only the blame of the
 general slaughter in the field is laid upon him
 and his adherents. Nay so far is their meaning
 from any tendency towards Buchanan's malevo-
 lent assertion, that the very same states, in the
 third parliament of James IV. on a complaint
 given in, that " the persons who put violent
 " hands on the King's father's person, and slew
 " him, are not punished," offer a reward to any
 who shall discover these murderers. Which is an
 incontestible proof that they had never thought
 the murdering of him just and lawful, however
 much they might have wished it believed, that he
 by his misconduct had brought all the mischief
 upon himself.

But this is not all: These very states, not-
 withstanding of the care they had taken to pre-
 serve themselves from the danger of the law by
 their bold and self-exculpating decree, do not seem
 to have been easy in their consciences, under all
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the safety which they had provided for their persons. For we find them, two years after this, applying to the Pope Innocent VIII. for absolution from the censures of the church, which they had incurred by their insurrection, protesting, "that they were sorry from the bottom of their hearts, and willing to do penance for it." The Pope indeed was gracious enough to their supplication, and gave commission by his Bull to the Abbots of Paisley and Jedburgh, and to the chancellor of Glasgow, to absolve them accordingly. The Bull speaks of some of the Lords spiritual being concerned in the rebellion, which seems to imply that even the Bishops stood in need of absolution; altho' it was not very consonant to primitive usage that they should receive it from Abbots, who, however much their Peers in Parliament, were their inferiors in the church: But whatever was the nature or extent of the Bull, the application for it sufficiently shews the opinion of the nation, when they came to a cooler way of thinking, after the first fury of faction was over. And if what is said by all our historians of James IV. be true, that to shew the sorrowful sense he had of his father's death, and of the hand which he was innocently led to have in it, he wore an iron chain about his body, and every year of his life added a link to it, we have upon the whole a confirmed refutation of Buchanan's shrewd but ill-founded inference, that the act of the rebels for their own security was a public mark of infamy upon the King's death.

Whatever were the faults or failings of this unhappy monarch, his royal successors owe him some small tribute of grateful remembrance, for having in a peaceable way enlarged their dominions,

LETTER XXVII. nions by an addition of territory which our Kings had never been in full possession of before. In the year 1469 he married Margaret, daughter to Christian King of Denmark, who in consideration of that marriage mortgaged the Islands of Orkney and Shetland for the payment of fifty thousand rixdollars, in dowry with his daughter, and afterwards on her bearing a son, made an absolute cession, and gave up all claim to them for ever.* By this accession of territory, our national church got another Bishop added to the old number, and from this time we have a clear and regular account of the succession of the Bishops of Orkney, some of whom made a considerable figure both in the church and in the state.

I am, &c.

* These islands had been till now part of the dominions of Norway, and tho' before this we find Earls of Orkney among our Scots Nobles, yet the first of them, Henry Sinclair of Roslin, had this title from Hacon King of Norway, with consent of his own Sovereign in 1379, and conveyed it to his grandson, in whose time, upon the country which gave the title being added to the dominions of Scotland, the title was annexed to the Crown, in 1471.

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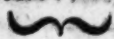
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L E T T E R XXVIII.

*Accession and prudent Behaviour of James IV—
State of the Church in his reign—The See of
Glasgow made an Archbishoprick—That of St.
Andrews successively filled with two Youths—
University and King's College of Aberdeen found-
ed by Bishop Elphinstone—James IV. with
the Flower of his Nobility killed at Flowden—
Reflections on that fatal Event.*

ON the death of James III. the young Prince, A.D. 1488.
who had been in a manner forced into the
field against him, was his lawful and undoubted
heir, and as the rightful possession of the crown
purges all defects, succeeded to him without any
ceremony or interruption. Some of the former
loyalists indeed stood out for a while, complaining
as the malcontents had done in the former reign,
that the King was in the hands of a party who
had murdered his father, and wished to have every
thing managed their own way. But the young
King's prudent behaviour to both sides, joined
with an indisputable title, soon dissipated all the
ill

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ill humour, which had so lately prevailed, and effected a general reconciliation.

In the church matters were not so calm and quiet. The new dignity of a Scottish Archbishop, which had been so fatal to the first possessor of it, seems to have had something great and alluring in it. For now Robert Blackader Bishop of Glasgow set up for the honour of his see likewise, and by his address procured a Bull from Pope Innocent VIII. erecting the See of Glasgow into an Archbishopric and ordaining Galloway, Argyle and the Isles to be subject to it. This was a new stretch of papal authority, in direct violation of his predecessor's indulgence to St. Andrews, and at the same time a superfluous encroachment upon the constitution of our church, which had been long governed without any formal metropolitan at all, and never was so extensive as to stand in need of two. Schèvez we are told highly resented this indignity, but had not interest enough to prevent it. The same measure he had lately given, was now in part returned back upon himself, and he was obliged to acknowledge Glasgow to be an Archbishoprick, with reservation of some degree of precedence to his own see. How the rest of the Bishops or the court relished this new erection, we know not. But while the Bishops were thus contending about preeminence, the doctrines of Wickliff and Hufs were gaining ground fast in the country, and had already taken deeper hold than they could afterwards be torn from.

Spot. b. ii.
p. 61.

The first ecclesiastical business we find the new Archbishop of Glasgow employed in is, his convening no fewer than thirty persons, among whom were sundry gentlemen of fortune in the West country, before the King and council, where he charged

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charged them with a number of heretical articles, as he called them, and demanded to know what was their belief concerning them. I shall afterwards have occasion to take a fuller view of these articles; and only observe at present, that the persons accused answered the Archbishop's questions with such smartness and ingenuity, and defended themselves with such an air of resolution, that it was thought prudent to dismiss them with an admonition to take heed of new doctrines, and to content themselves with the faith of the church. What might have been the cause of such uncommon lenity at this time, we need not inquire. Perhaps the secular arm, without which there could be no capital punishment, had not been ready enough to back the ecclesiastical sentence, and send so many subjects out of the world. But as to the fact itself, we may reasonably conclude, that the conduct of the clergy gave great encouragement to the spreading of these opinions: And according to the principles of the church at that time, as to what was orthodox or heretical, it is easy to see that while the husbandmen either slept or were tearing one another, the tares were sown. For indeed what else could be expected, while the Bishops, who by their office were designed to teach and instruct the people, took up their time in needless and expensive journeys to Rome and other foreign parts, or in maintaining their own superfluous titles and dignities at home?

This very Archbishop Blackader, who, as we have seen, might have found enough of employment in his own diocese, yet turns his back upon it, and sets out in his old age to visit the holy places in Palestine, but died by the way. He is said to have been a pious, good man: Would not

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his piety have been as properly displayed, and shone as conspicuously, in looking after the flock committed to his charge? Especially at a time when, in his estimation, and from his own experience, there were wolves breaking in among them to tear and destroy them. The devotion of visiting that once sacred spot of ground in the East, whatever may be differently thought of it, might have done well enough with private persons who had leisure for it, and were engaged in no necessary business to require their attendance at home. But for men in a publick character, and of the church too, in such a critical situation, to neglect the work they had taken in hand, and for which they were so well paid, only to satisfy an useless piece of curiosity, is altogether inexcusable, as being so unprofitable in itself, and exposed to so many dangerous consequences. It would have been more becoming in this Bishop Blackader, to have been labouring all the time among his thirty suspected heretics, with the Apostolic instruments of instruction and example; and if he had recovered but one of them to what he reckoned the true faith, it would have been as serviceable to the interest of religion, and fully as consolatory to himself in his last moments, as all the fine sights he could have seen in the Holy Land. I shall not lay hold of the ill-natured suspicion, that vanity might have been the man's motive, to make a parade of his new dignity with all the ensigns and ornaments of it, among the various people by the way. I shall allow him to have acted from a better principle, and to have been as devout a man as Bishop Leslie represents him; Yet surely, to say the best of it, his devotion

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was not only ill-placed, but as matters then stood, very ill-timed. LETTER
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The state of our church in this reign has been sadly complained of, and lamented by most writers. The King himself is generally well spoken of, for his administration of state-matters : But his management of what lay to his hand in the concerns of the church does not appear to be so commendable and worthy of his character. On the vacancy of the see of St Andrews, by the death of Schevez in the year 1496, the King thought proper to give this Archbishoprick to the Duke of Ross a younger brother of his own, who at that time could not be above twenty years of age, and consequently very unfit for such a weighty and important charge. And which was still more extraordinary, when this Prince died, in the year 1503, the see was kept vacant several years, and at last filled with Alexander Stuart, a natural son of the King's by a daughter of Boyd's of Bonshaw, who was but eight years old when the Archbishoprick was designed for him, and no more than fourteen when Pope Julius II. promoted him to it, while he was abroad on his travels for his improvement. The next year he returned home, and in 1511, when he was but sixteen years old, his father made him Chancellor of the kingdom, and the Pope constituted him his Legate *a Latere* in Scotland, and besides the revenues of the Archbishopric, allowed him to hold the rich abbey of Dunfermline and the Priory of Coldingham *in commendam*, all which he kept till he was killed at Flowden in the eighteenth year of his age.

So here was the see of St. Andrews, the oldest episcopal seat in the kingdom, and now become the dignified capital of the national church, not

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indeed kept vacant for seventeen years, but, which was worse, thrown away upon boys, who however illustrious for their birth or qualities, were certainly improper for being Bishops, and such Bishops too, in Christ's church. The King's affection to a brother and a child may be in some measure excusable. But the Pope's compliance was scandalous and base. Indeed the character of the two Popes who humour'd the King in these extravagant stretches of affection, prevents our being very much surprized at any part of their conduct. Alexander VI. who was the Pope that filled the first vacancy, is infamous even amongst his own party. The advancement of his children the Borgias, was all his study, and the histories of these times are full of the wicked and abominable methods he and they took for that purpose, which at last brought the whole family of them to a tragical end. The other Pope Julius II. who is commonly called the *Martial Pope*, tho' a man of a different turn from Alexander, was so bent upon his warlike schemes, which he had his own private reasons for, that he would stick at nothing, however uncanonical and hurtful to the church, to ingratiate himself with any Prince who he thought, could be assisting to him in these designs. And at this time in particular, he was engaged in a troublesome war with Louis XII. of France, who was not only counteracting all his ambitious projects with a numerous army at his very doors, but had likewise, with consent of the Emperor Maximilian, called a council at Pisa to enquire into his conduct, and to treat him perhaps as the councils of Constance and Basil had done his Predecessors. So he had need of all the friends he could make, to ward off the intended blow. And

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between France and Scotland, his policy would lead him to do what he could to detach our King from that connection, and secure him to his own party.

He had some years before this sent a nuncio to Scotland, to present the King with the pompous title of *Protector of the Christian Faith*, and to give the greater grace to his present, he sent him a purple crown with flowers of gold, and a sword with a golden hilt, and scabbard set with jewels. My author says, this honour was conferred upon him for his zeal in driving heresy out of his dominions, and adds that "tho' before this he had always been remarkably catholic, yet now, A-
" *postolico quodam spiritu totus inflammatus vi-*
" *deretur*, he seemed to be altogether fired with
" a kind of Apostolick spirit, so that he never
" suffered heresy to bud, nor religion to be ne-
" glected, within the kingdom." Yet in all our histories we see nothing of his remarkable doings either for the one or the other of these purposes. The innovators of the West country, the *Lollards of Kyle*, as they were called, had been examined before him, but escaped without punishment, and the received doctrines were in his time more combated and spoken against than ever they had been before. It is probable therefore that the Pope's compliment had been intended as much to influence him and make a friend of him in time to come, as to reward him for what was past.*

* Bishop Leslie indeed tells a wonderful story of him immediately after this account, perhaps as an instance of his *Apostolic* spirit, "that he travelled in pilgrimage and alone, from Stirling thro' Perth and Aberdeen to Elgin, a journey of one hundred and thirty miles in one day, and the next day to St. Duthack's

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But whatever was the cause or design of this fondness, it could not have produced a greater innovation than the two instances I have mentioned of preferring such incapable persons to such high trusts in the church. What old Canon or laudable precedent could the Pope allege for it? What great or useful end could he propose by it? The plenitude of his power might in those days do any thing. But ought that power to have been thus wantonly abused? Or could it, with all its fulness, capacitate these youths for exercising the office committed to them? It had been better to have left the See vacant all the time, than thus to burlesque the sacred character by such a repeated farce. And I cannot help expressing my surprize to find these two young gentlemen placed in the catalogue of the Archbishops of St. Andrews, and the last and youngest of them too with the high epithet of "a worthy Prelate." That they were actually consecrated by the imposition of hands I can scarcely think, as I can see no account of it: And in strict propriety of speech I know no right that any one can have to be called a *Prelate* in the church, without it. But what opinion could the other Bishops form of this procedure, especially to see a boy of sixteen years of age cloathed with the legatine power, which they had been accustomed to look up to with reverence and awe? It was no wonder tho' they neglected their spiritual functions, and began to think little of a character, which they saw the *Head* of the church

"in Ross, which was forty miles further, in time to reach Matins." Whatever devotion might have been in this jaunt, there certainly was an incredible deal of bodily strength in it, and the narration, if true, is more a panegyric on the one than the other.

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without any reason, prostituting in such an unheard of manner. And how could the laity relish such a flagrant stretch of authority, as ventured to entrust the episcopal office, which they were told, was originally designed for instructing and governing the flock of Christ, with youths, who themselves needed instructors and governors?

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Yet even at this time there were Bishops in our church worthy of that sacred character, and distinguished by their zeal in the cause of religion and learning. Such was the famous Bishop Elphinston of Aberdeen, a man universally esteemed and praised by every writer that speaks of him. He was translated from Ross to Aberdeen in the year 1484, and in this station was at great pains to prevent the fatal rupture between the nobles and King James III. whose cause he never deserted, but faithfully adhered to him to the last. Yet on the accession of his successor, this loyal Bishop was still in high esteem at court, and much employed in publick offices, and on many important occasions. At last, the commotions of the state being in a good measure settled, he found leisure to execute a design he had long intended. In the year 1494 he founded an university in Old Aberdeen, where his cathedral stood, and having obtained the royal patronage, he gave his new erection the title of King's College. He likewise began the bridge upon Dee, and left money for finishing that useful work. He made a collection of Canons for the reformation of abuses, and instruction of his clergy. In a word, both in publick and private life he was a valuable man, and in truth and reality, "a worthy Prelate." He had the misfortune, while he was Bishop, to see two Kings, with both of whom he had been a great

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great favourite, brought to a lamentable end, James III. murdered by ruffians at Bannockburn, and James IV. slain in battle on the field of Flowden, which last calamity he did not long survive; for the year after, being called up to Edinburgh on public business, he sickened by the way, and died a few days after his arrival, universally regreted.

We have already seen what steps Pope Julius took, and what concessions and compliments he made to our king, to draw him off from the French interest, and to prevent his disturbing Henry VIII. of England, whom the Pope had engaged to attack France upon that side. But all was ineffectual. The old amity between Scotland and France prevailed against the Pope's flatteries, and James resolved to support Louis, and prevent, if possible, his being overpowered by the formidable confederacy which Julius had formed against him. This irritated the Pope to such a degree, that, as Lord Herbert, in his life of Henry VIII. tells us, he vented his displeasure by excommunicating the very man whom himself had lately dubbed *Protector of the Faith*, and that not for any breach of, or departure from that faith, but entirely for not forsaking an old ally, with whom he had always been in league and friendship.* However, notwithstanding of the Pope's

* This circumstance is not taken notice of by our own historians. Bishop Leslie indeed speaks of the treaty between James and Louis, but his professional reverence for the Pope, and his personal regard for the King, (of whom he says "nihil habuit Britannia justius aut sanctius, there was not an honest or more upright man in Britain,") would not allow him to mention the excommunication, tho' he had known of it, as he saw that would throw a reflection where he would not have any to light. And Buchanan only says, that the English kept a dead body, dil-

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displeasure, the King went on with his preparations, and having collected an army, marched with it into England, where, contrary to the advice of all his nobles, he gave battle to a superior force of the English commanded by the Earl of Surrey, but was defeated and slain. This was the heaviest blow which Scotland for a long time, or perhaps ever, had felt: The loss of a beloved King, with the flower of the nobility, and a vast number of the common people; and that loss weighty enough in itself, increased by the long and troublesome minority that succeeded. There was much doubt at the time about the King's fate. It was said by some, that he got off from the field, but was murdered, as his father had been, in a private house. And by others that, after the defeat, he went to the Holy Land, in accomplishment of a vow which he had made to do penance for his father's death. But the general and most probable opinion is, that he fell in the field near Flowden on the fatal ninth of September 1513, in the thirty ninth year of his age and twenty fifth of his reign, leaving a son James, not two years old, by his Queen Margaret, eldest daughter to Henry VII. of England, thro' whom came the succession of our royal line to that crown.

All our historians speak well of this King. Buchanan himself is copious in his praise, tho' in the conclusion he cannot abstain from throwing a slur upon his memory for his prodigality and poverty, which, he says, "if he had lived longer,

which they had found and imagined to be the King's, a long time unburied, "because he had sacrilegiously taken up arms against the Pope."

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“ might have extinguished all his former reputation by the necessary imposition of new taxes, so that his death may be said to have been, tho’ immature, yet seasonable and convenient for himself.” It is a strange pleasure that this fine writer takes in the slaying of Kings, and putting favourable glosses upon it. James III. he says, was “jure cæsus,” lawfully slain: James IV. “commode,” conveniently and seasonably. This is a peculiar way of complimenting a good King, to cut him off in the flower of his life, for fear of his growing worse. However, whether his death was seasonable for himself or not, it was certainly most unseasonable and incommodious to the nation. The loss of so many great men, who fell about their Sovereign’s person, and probably would not have fallen if he had stood, was a greater hurt to the country than it could have suffered from all the taxes which he either could or would have imposed upon it. * To increase the misery, the heir of the crown was an infant

* Besides the King and his promising son the titular Archbishop of St. Andrews, there were slain on the fatal field of Flowden, twelve Earls, Argyle, Athol, Bothwell, Caithness, Caillis, Crawford, Errol, Glencairn, Lenox, Morton, Montrose, and Rothes, nine Lords, Borthwick, Colvil of Culrofs, Elphinston, Lovat, Maxwell, Ross, Sinclair, Semple and Somerville, four eldest sons, and heirs of Angus, Cathcart, Marischal and Oliphant, and the predecessors of the following nineteen noble families, Dalhousie, Galloway, Gowrie, Nithsdale, Kirkudbright, Kenmure, Kilsyth, Lauderdale, Mar, Melvil now Leven, Napier, Panmure, Queensberry, Seaforth, Southesk, Traquair, Tweeddale, Weems and Winton. Such and so memorable was the bloody battle of Flowden, that the mournful remembrance of it has been handed down to us in an old ballad, of as affecting a composition both for matter and music as any we have, and which is so well known among the vulgar to this day by the name of “*The Flowers of the Forest are faded away.*”

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of scarce two years of age, and in that state exposed as a prey to the ambitious designs of such of the grandees as had survived that melancholy catastrophe. The state of the church too was such as called aloud for reformation, and would have required a steady hand to probe the sore to the bottom, and extirpate the prevailing corruption. Instead of making any serious attempts that way, we have seen the greater part of our churchmen minding nothing but the temporal advantages annexed to their sacred character; jaunting in pomp to Rome, to Avignon, to wherever the Popes their new masters kept their courts, spending the wealth of the nation, which had been given them for other purposes, in these flashy excursions, and returning with vain titles, and bad examples. At home we have observed the consequence of these abuses, discipline despised, doctrine either neglected or corrupted, reformation and instruction set at nought, and nothing recommended but rearing spacious buildings, and leaving rich legacies, under the specious pretence of pious donations. So that had it not been for some good men who shone forth now and then in these dark and degenerate times, such as Bishop Traill and Kennedy of St. Andrews, Bishop Elphinston of Aberdeen, and some others, who were a credit to their function, and supported the honour of our church, it is hardly to be thought that the unwieldy fabrick would have stood so long as it did, but would have tumbled down of itself.

In a word, we need not wonder that Archbishop Spotswood should so sadly lament the miserable state of the church at the period we are now come to: When even Hector Boece, who lived at the

time, Spot. b. ii. p. 60.

LETTER XXVIII. time, and wished well enough to the Papal cause, describes the Prelates in his days as* “devour-
 “ing the poor plundered people, doing nothing
 “that becomes good and worthy men, yea striv-
 “ing all they can to keep down all kind of li-
 “terature, lest if the people should come to a
 “better taste, they themselves should be obliged
 “to change their scandalous way of life, and
 “thereby lose their prey out of their hands: Let
 “those whose business it is, see to a reformation
 “of these things: It is the just grief and deep
 “feeling I have of such abuses that has driven
 “me to this admonition.” If the honest Princip-
 al of the King’s College had lived but a few
 years longer, he would have seen “a reforma-
 “tion of these things” taken in hand by those
 whose business, in his opinion, it was not, when
 they whose business it was, would do nothing in
 it. But what part a man, who could express
 himself as he does, would have acted in that in-
 tricate scene we cannot positively say, and I shall
 not pretend to guess.

I shall conclude this letter, as the Abbé Fleury
 does one of his elaborate discourses upon this
 subject, with observing that “the changes in the
 “discipline of the church for the last five or
 “six hundred years were not brought in so much
 “by the authority of Bishops and councils, as by
 “negligence, ignorance and error, founded on
 “forged decretals, and on the false reasonings of

* “Populum ambesum deglutientes, nihil reliqui bonis et
 “dignis viris facientes, imo omni nisu omnibus literis obfisten-
 “tes, ne si populus meliora sapere incipiant, ipsi vitia sua in aper-
 “tum prodita deferere cogantur, et prædam e manibus amittant:
 “Ea ut emendentur viderint illi quorum interest curare, me do-
 “lor justus et pia commiseratio ut monerem huc arripuit.”

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“ the schoolmen.” And I hope you will join me in the pious wish that follows, “ God grant we may make a right use of the happiness we enjoy of being born in a more knowing age, and that, if we cannot bring back the antient discipline, we may at least esteem, revere, and regret it.”

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L E T T E R XXIX.

The Duke of Albany chosen Regent in the place of the Queen Mother——Contention about filling the Sees of St. Andrews and Aberdeen——The Reformation in Germany carried on by Martin Luther and others——Brought into Scotland by Patrick Hamilton, Abbot of Ferne, who suffered for it——Various instances of Persecution on the same account——The Reformers abroad called Protestants.

THE late King, before he undertook the fatal expedition which led him to the field of Flowden, had provided, as he thought, for the peace of the Kingdom, by settling the regency of

LETTER of it on the Queen, while she should remain un-
XXIX. married. But this settlement was soon overturned
 by her marrying within a year, Archibald Earl of
 Angus, a young nobleman of great family and figure, who had lately succeeded to his grandfather, and now by his marriage, pretended to some share of the publick management, if not on his own, at least on his royal consort's account. However the states committed the regency to John Duke of Albany, the late King's cousin german, who by his education in France, and marriage with a rich lady of that nation, was warmly attached to the French interest, and in consequence of that attachment, involved in difficulties which clogged the motions of his administration all the time it continued.

Spotswood,
 p. 61.

The first ecclesiastical transaction of a publick nature which he was concerned in, was the disposal of the See of St. Andrews, vacant by the death of the nominal Archbishop, who was slain with the King his father at Flowden. For this place of honour and profit there appeared no fewer than three competitors. Gavin Douglas Bishop of Dunkeld and uncle to the Earl of Angus, depended on his family-connexions and the Queen's influence for his promotion to it, and in confidence of this support took possession of the castle of St. Andrews. John Hepburn, Prior of St. Andrews, a factious turbulent man, got himself elected by the Canons, and by virtue of that election expelled the Bishop of Dunkeld's servants, and fortified the house with a garrison of foldiers. Andrew Forman Bishop of Moray, the third Claimant, had procured a gift of the place from Pope Julius II. with the title of *Legate a latere*, and was supported in his pretensions by the Lord Hume, who coming to Edinburgh on purpose,

pose, proclaimed the Pope's gift, and Forman's LETTER, XXIX. legation with great solemnity. So that in this contest were engaged all the three methods by which such high dignities and benefices had ever been disposed of, royal presentation, canonical election, and papal provision. And the controversy was managed not in the old and proper way of ecclesiastical and synodical consultation, but by the lately introduced methods of violence and uproar, and of secular interference on all sides. Indeed the Bishop of Dunkeld soon relinquished his claim, and withdrew from the contention : * But the other two rivals kept it up with much keenness and unbecoming eagerness for several years.

Nor was this the only dispute of the kind that agitated our churchmen, at this time. The diocese of Aberdeen had now lost its incomparable Bishop Elphinston, and his place was contended for by no fewer than three potent rivals also. The Earl of Huntly, by his authority in these parts had compelled the Canons to give their votes to his cousin Alexander Gordon, who was at that time chantor of Moray ; Albany the Regent had given a presentation to it in favour of a brother of the powerful house of Ogilvy : And at Rome Robert Forman, Dean of Glasgow and brother to the Legate, obtained a gift of it from Pope Leo X. who had succeeded Julius II. Here was another scene of disturbance like to open. But the Regent, by the authority of office, and a mixture of worldly

Spot.p.106.

* He appears to have been a worthy man, and his memory is famous to this day, as for many other laudable qualities, so in particular for his rare talent in poetry, of which his accurate and almost literal translation of Virgil's *Æneid* into the then current language of the country, is, and will remain an ample testimony.

LETTER XXIX. policy, which even Bishop Leslie's personal regard for Albany cannot altogether vindicate, was lucky enough to adjust matters at last to the outward satisfaction of all parties. Andrew Forman got the Archbishoprick of St. Andrews, on condition of paying to John Hepburn three thousand crowns a year during life, and of prevailing with his brother Robert to quit his pretensions to Aberdeen. The Earl of Huntly's friend carried his point, and the Regent's presentee was content to put up with the Abbacy of Dryburgh. How far these settlements, founded entirely on worldly considerations, were agreeable to the maxims of the gospel, or could tend to advance the real interests of the church as a spiritual society, needs be no question to such as are in the least acquainted with the nature of it's original institution, and the successive propagation of the gospel thro' the primitive and uncorrupted ages. And I have taken this particular notice of these, and such like deviations from the old standard among the many instances of the kind to be met with about this time, on purpose to abate a little of the wonder at, if not to account for, the strange and unexpected alteration which had been hatching for some centuries, and now in a short time broke out with such a shock as had almost overturned, and did in effect shake the pillars of, that stupenduous fabrick of worldly grandeur which churchmen had with indefatigable application been rearing for many ages.

We have seen what a flame Wickliff had raised in England, where altho' his tenets, whether erroneous or not, were attacked and in a great measure born down by the unscriptural arguments of fire and faggot, yet thro' the negligence of the watchmen,

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watchmen, who instead of taking care to prevent the sowing of what they thought tares, were struggling and tearing one another about pomp and preferments, they spread and gained ground every day, and forced themselves over to the continent, as far as Bohemia. There indeed they seem to have taken deep root, and were able to keep their hold, in spite of all the cruelties and unchristian breach of faith that their great propagator met with, from some treacherous hand or other, at the council of Constance. Yet all this time, except in Bohemia, they were driven to and made their appearance only in private corners, unsupported and almost unnoticed, without obtaining the countenance, or in any great degree alarming the fears of the mighty ones either in church or state. It might have been thought that if these new doctrines, as they were called, which Wickliff, Hufs, and others were bold enough to advance, had been so destructive of religion, and contrary to the primitive creeds, as the champions of the Papal church would make us believe, they ought to have been suppressed by the old primitive method of scripture and argument, and the never failing appeal to "quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus," to antiquity, universality, and consent. But instead of this, in all the councils either provincial or general, as they were called, on these occasions, we meet with nothing but a few magisterial threats from those in power to the presumed heretics, like what the Jewish Sanhedrim issued to the Apostles, not to speak or preach any more after that sort; and when that would not do, they were delivered over to the secular arm to be burnt, when they could not be answered. The great object of all the

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councils that had been held for more than six hundred years, was either to exalt the Bishop of Rome above his fellow Bishops, or to contend with Kings, and claim exemption from civil obedience, or to harass the poor uninstructed people with rigorous injunctions and superstitious observances, which had no connection with purity of faith or integrity of manners. And when things were come to such a pass, it was no wonder that opportunity was taken either to revive old truths, or to broach new errors in what was still looked upon to be the church of Christ.

Accordingly, about this time, while the Popes, who had long assumed an absolute sovereignty over all ranks and degrees, were disputing their pretensions with crowned heads, and the other Bishops scheming and soliciting for new titles and precedencies, a combustion broke out in Germany, which, from an almost imperceptible beginning, soon engrossed the attention of Popes and Bishops, of Kings, and Emperors, of all characters and denominations in the Western world: And what neither the parson of Lutterworth in England, nor the Principal of the university of Prague in Bohemia, could bring about, an obscure Augustinian Monk of Wittemberg in Saxony was the weak, but successful, instrument of effectuating, and, by unwearied perseverance, under the protection of some and opposition of others, laid the foundation of that remarkable change in the ecclesiastical system which has ever since been called the *Reformation*. This person was the renowned Martin Luther, so much admired by friends, and reproached by enemies, who about the year 1517 took occasion, from the indulgences which the extravagance and dissipation of the

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the Pope Leo X. had driven him to the necessity of making sale of, for relieving his debts, to inveigh at first in his cloyster, and afterwards when challenged in the way of public disputation, against that scandalous traffick which was certainly a nuisance to all good men, and was as hurtful to the souls as it was detrimental to the purses of the silly people that trusted to it. Under the primitive discipline indeed, the Bishops sometimes, and after mature deliberation, thought fit to relax somewhat of the severity of penance, as particular circumstances, and the health or disposition of the penitent required: Which relaxation began to be called in the Latin church *indulgentia*, *Indulgence* or favour, and was granted but seldom, and then too without any composition or pecuniary acknowledgment whatever. But by degrees the Popes, who were always grasping at every opportunity to enlarge their power and fill their coffers, took the sole management of this episcopal privilege into their own hands, and by selling pardons not only for past, but even for future transgressions, carried it at last to that horrid pitch of licentiousness which in end proved its downfall.

It has been said, I know, that Luther's original quarrel at this time was not so much with the offensiveness of these papal indulgences in themselves, as on account of the Pope's having entrusted the Dominicans with the distribution of them thro' Germany, which had hitherto been a perquisite, and a lucrative one too, of Luther's own order of Augustinians, and that for this reason it was that he appeared so keenly against them. But in answer to this it may be observed, that, whether this particular handle had been given or not, as it was foolish in such a shameful affair to give any new

LETTER XXIX. handle, the corruptions of the ecclesiastical courts were now so multiplied, and avowed with such a boldness of oppressive effrontery, that it is more than probable some man of spirit in some place or other would have appeared against them, and laid hold of the first favourable occasion to begin the long wished-for and often attempted alteration.

Be in this what will, it is certain that the attack made by Luther upon these indulgences, from whatever motives, and with whatever views, was the main introduction to all that followed. The Dominicans, who were now in possession of this advantageous merchandize, took the alarm, and as it might be expected, defended their privilege with a warmth of eloquence suitable to the object at stake. This produced replies from Luther's side, which were answered with equal acrimony from the other. And here the affair seemed to rest for some time, till the Pope took the cause in hand, and made himself a party in the debate, summoning Luther to Rome to give an account of his tenets, and in case of his refusal or persisting in his obstinacy, threatening him with the severest punishments. This irritated Luther, who was as resolute for a Monk, as Leo was for a Pope, to such a degree that, after sundry fruitless interviews with the Pope's agents in Germany, and finding himself likely to be supported by some of the secular Princes, particularly by the Elector of Saxony, a man of great piety and worth, he retracted all his former professions of submission to the Pope's authority, openly renounced his infallibility, and formally appealed from him to a general council.

Thus was the challenge fairly given, and the Pope and Luther were now stated as principals in this important controversy. Nor was Luther single
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in the arduous undertaking. For no sooner had he broken the ice, than numbers of learned men, who seemed only to be waiting for such an opening, joined him in different parts of the country, and appeared briskly in the same field with him: Such as Carlostadius, Osiander, Melancthon, and Bucer in Germany, Zuinglius and Oecolampadius in Switzerland, and many others of less note here and there, who, though in some particular sentiments they differed from Luther, and either fell below, or rose above his pitch in a few doctrinal points, yet all concurred in the grand attack upon the Papal corruptions, and contributed their several shares, tho' in different ways, and with different consequences, towards the intended Reformation. Yet it is worthy of notice, that Luther has among friends the whole glory, and among enemies bears the whole odium of the work, and that, notwithstanding of the assistance he had from his predecessors Wickliff and Huss, and from many of his cotemporaries, men of as great personal talents and as much figure in the church as himself, he is still called the *Apostle* of Germany. I mention this however, not to derogate from his praise, but only to regulate in some measure whatever use may be made of his name, either for approving or condemning the business in which he was only a partner. And I have given this short account of his first appearance upon what may be called the ecclesiastical stage, because it coincides with the æra of our own history now before us. The farther progress of his and his brethrens endeavours I shall have frequent occasion to consider, and to point out their influence on the affairs of our own nation.

We have seen that in the late King's time, and before

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LETTER before Luther was heard of, the very tenets which
 XXIX. he espoused were maintained in our own country,
 and that numbers of people in Kyle and Cuning-
 ham, among whom were sundry gentlemen of fam-
 ily and fortune, were convened before Blackader
 the new Archbishop of Glasgow, for rejecting the
 adoration of images and relicks, the invocation of
 saints, the doctrine of transubstantiation and pur-
 gatory, the supremacy of the Pope and the forced
 celibacy of the clergy, with some other articles of
 less note and worse aspect, which seem to have
 been foisted into the catalogue by their accusers,
 as is generally the case, to swell the libel, and throw
 the more odium upon the pannels. However at
 that time there was nothing done in the prosecu-
 tion, not on account of the insignificancy of the
 charge itself, or of the parties concerned in it, but
 either from the good nature of the Archbishop, or
 because the King, without whose aid the spiritual
 judgments were then thought of little efficacy, had
 not been willing to have things pushed to extre-
 mity. But now a more favourable prospect was
 beginning to open. The authority of civil govern-
 ment was not much to be feared. The Regent
 Albany was much out of the kingdom, carrying
 on his projects in France, and when at home, tho'
 a man of great prudence and capacity, was so dis-
 gusted at the thwarting of his measures by the
 Queen mother and her faction, who took part
 with her brother the King of England against the
 French interest, that he gave up his office, and
 took a farewell of Scotland for ever. The young
 King himself had been all along tost like a tennis
 ball between the two powerful families of Angus
 and Arran and their adherents, and had been ad-
 vised, when little more than twelve years of age,

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to take hold of Albany's absence, and assume the administration of affairs into his own hands. LETTER
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This was a lucky juncture for all who had any by-ends of their own to serve, and it was made use of accordingly. The King, who was a youth of bright parts and most promising talents, soon displayed a strong taste for profuseness and magnificence, not so much in his own person, as in the public management, and with a view to what might be properly called Royal Grandeur. The exchequer was low, and the crown revenues but scanty. And this, joined with his own inexperience and natural impetuosity of temper, laid him open to the designs of such as could allure him with the supply of his wants, or furnish him the means of gratifying any of his favourite wishes. The clergy, who were for the most part possessed of great wealth, readily laid hold on such a concurrence of circumstances, to baffle the schemes which they saw in agitation against their opulence and independence. Thus matters stood when James V. took the reins of government into his own hands. A D. 1524. The see of St. Andrews was now filled by James Beton, who had been removed from Glasgow to it on the death of Forman in the year 1522. Gavin Dunbar, the King's Preceptor, was promoted to Glasgow, and his uncle another Gavin Dunbar, Archdeacon of St. Andrews had succeeded Bishop Gordon of Aberdeen.* These two

* It was this Bishop of Aberdeen who finished the Bridge upon Dee, which had been begun by Bishop Elphinston. He likewise built and endowed a Hospital, or Beadhouse near the Cathedral, for 12 poor old men, in the year 1532. It has been lately sold to the Proprietor of the adjacent ground: The venerable little building is now demolished, and the money paid for it applied to a similar purpose.

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XXIX.

Dunbars were men of great esteem, and have a good character from most writers. The Archbishop of Glasgow, tho' shamefully misrepresented by Knox, is celebrated by Buchanan in a most elegant piece of Latin Poetry, equal to any of his admirable compositions in that language. But the other Archbishop Beton is variously spoken of, and our church historian Spotswood endeavours to soften any appearance of charge against him, by reckoning it his misfortune, that under the shadow of his authority many good men were put to death for the cause of religion, tho' he says, "the man himself was neither violently set, nor much solicitous, as it was thought, how matters went in the church." The German doctrines were about this time brought into Scotland by a Patrick Hamilton, Abbot of Ferne in Rosshire, a young man of a good family, who in the course of his travels had contracted an acquaintance with Luther and Melancthon, and from them imbibed the new opinions, which they were then propagating. At his return to his own country, he spared not, wheresoever he came, to lay open the corruptions of the Romish church, and to shew the errors, both in doctrine and practice, that had crept into the christian religion.— In this employment he was both zealous and successful, for he was a learned man, of a courteous disposition, and unblameable in his life and conversation. This alarmed the clergy, who under colour of conferring with him, enticed him to St. Andrews where, after repeated disputation, in which some of the clergy seemed to be of his mind, he was one night suddenly apprehended in his bed, and carried prisoner to the castle. The next day he was presented before the Archbishop

Hist. p. 62.

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Hist. p. 7.

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bishop assisted by the Archbishop of Glasgow, the LETTER
Bishops of Brechin, Dunkeld and Dumblaine, with XXIX.
a number of Abbots, Priors and Doctors, before

whom he was accused of the following articles.

1. That the corruption of sin remains in children after baptism. 2. That no man by the power of ^{Spot. p. 63.} his freewill can do any thing that is truly good.

3. That no man is without sin altogether, so long as he liveth. 4. That every true christian may know himself to be in a state of grace. 5. That a man is not justified by works, but by faith only. 6. That good works make not a good man,

but that a good man doeth good works, as it is the good tree which bringeth forth good fruit, not the fruit that maketh the tree good. 7. That

faith, hope, and charity are so linked together, that he who hath one hath all, and he who lacketh one lacketh all. 8. That remission of sin is not purchased by any actual penance. 9. That

auricular confession is not necessary to salvation. 10. That there is no purgatory. 11. That the ho-

ly Patriarchs were in heaven before Christ's passion. 12. That the Pope is Antichrist, and

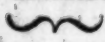
that every Priest has as much power as the Pope. In his defence he maintained the first seven of these articles to be undoubtedly true, and sound doctrine, to which he would set his hand. The

rest, he said, were disputable points, but such as he could not condemn, unless he saw better reasons than he had as yet heard. The conse-

quence was, he was delivered over to the secular arm to suffer the punishment due to heresy, and the same day, being the first of March 1527, was burnt at a stake at the gate of St. Salvator's college. This unjust and precipitate execution made

a great noise thro' the kingdom. A general clamour

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LETTER XXIX. mour was raised against the churchmen for condemning a man, and such a man too, because he maintained doctrines, some of which they themselves could not prove to be heretical, and others of them were proposed only as theological problems to be disputed among divines. Neither did this ill timed severity answer their expectation. For soon after, the King's Confessor Alexander Seton a Dominican, being in course Lent-preacher that year at St. Andrews, and taking for his subject the commandments of the law, did in his sermons insist upon these points, "that the law of God is the only rule of duty; that if God's law is not violated, no sin is committed; that it is not in man's power to satisfy for sin, and that forgiveness of sin is no otherwise purchased but by unfeigned repentance, and true faith apprehending the mercy of God in Christ." For this uncouth method of sermonizing, and some other freedoms in describing the character of an Apostolic Bishop, while he purposely omitted to speak of purgatory, pilgrimage, praying to saints, merits and miracles, which were the ordinary themes of these days, he fell under Archbishop Beton's displeasure, and perceiving the King's countenance altered towards him by Beton's ill offices, he fled for safety to Berwick, from whence he wrote back to the King a pathetic letter of exhortation against the corruptions and cruelties of the clergy: But finding no favourable effects from this letter, after having staid a while at Berwick, he went to London, and became chaplain to the Duke of Suffolk, in which station he died. It was said he recanted most of his peculiar opinions, but this the

the man himself denied, and proved to be a false allegation. LETTER
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Not long after this, one Henry Forest a Benedictine was apprehended for saying, that Patrick Hamilton had died a martyr; and continuing in the justification of the man and his doctrines, he was condemned as an heretic, and publicly burnt at the North aisle of the abbey. While they were consulting about the manner and place of his execution, one John Lindsay, a plain simple man, who then served the Archbishop, advised to burn him in some hollow cellar, because, he said, "the smoke of Mr. Patrick Hamilton had infected all on whom it blew." It might have been thought that this simple man's observation would have had some weight with those of deeper judgment and higher rank, who could not but remember what an old and comfortable adage it had been that, "*sanguis martyrum semina ecclesiae*," the blood of the martyrs was the seed of the church, and how unavailable these diabolical arguments had been to stop the growth of opinions which the powers of pagan Rome looked upon with as malignant an eye, as Papal Rome could do to the tenets of Martin Luther or Patrick Hamilton. And so it happened in the present case: Such excessive rigours awakened people's curiosity, and put them upon inquiring into the truth of these so long unheard-of doctrines, which led their acquaintances so cheerfully to the stake: And this enquiry produced discoveries which they had been strangers to before, by which means the infection, as Lindsay called it, spread, and the more violent that the churchmen were in prosecuting, the more objects they found for prosecution. Sometimes

LETTER XXIX. indeed the King interfered, and either screened or rescued the accused, according as application was made, or fancy or favour inclined him. But for the most part, care was taken to prevent access to him, or to seize the opportunity of his being absent on some of his frequent perambulations.— So the poor people were harassed without mercy, and numbers of learned men chose to leave their native country, rather than be daily exposed to the fury of the Archbishop of St. Andrews, and his implacable instigators.

Thus in the year 1534, Mr. Alexander Ales, Messrs. Fife, Macbee and Macdougall, being, on suspicion, summoned to the Bishop's court, and not thinking it safe to appear, fled into England, where they were liberally entertained, and Ales in particular came into such favour with the King, that he was called the King's scholar. This man was born at Edinburgh in the year 1500, and was among the first of our countrymen who entered the lists against Luther, which was now the grand field of battle wherein all disputants, young and old, endeavoured to give proofs of their merit. In the conferences with Mr. Hamilton he laboured strenuously to bring him back to the current faith, but instead of prevailing with him, he was shaken in his own belief by the force of Hamilton's reasonings, and especially by his constancy and courage at the stake. For some little time he wavered between the two religions, but at last he thoroughly embraced Lutheranism, and persevered in it till his death. While he was in England, he was admitted into the convocation in the year 1537, where he disputed with Stokesly Bishop of London, and maintained that there were but two sacraments, properly and in a strict sense.

In

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In 1540 he left England, and went to Germany, where the Elector of Brandenburg made him Professor of Divinity at Francfort upon the Oder.— Here he held a public disputation on the question, “Whether the civil magistrate can and ought to punish fornication,” and maintained the affirmative with Melancthon. But being disgusted at the remissness of the university in deciding upon the question, which he interpreted as a bias to the licentious side, he gave up his Professorship in 1543, and tho’ he had an invitation from Albert Duke of Prussia, to his newly erected university of Koningsberg, he chose to accept of the divinity chair at Leipstick in Saxony. While in this station he was employed to translate the first liturgy of Edward VI. into Latin, for Bucer’s use, who did not understand English, and here he continued till 1565, when he died. He left several valuable treatises behind him, and in general seems to have been a man of great repute for probity and learning.

Mr Macbee, commonly called Dr Maccabeus, another of these refugees, was much countenanced for some time by Shaxton Bishop of Salisbury, and on his leaving England, went first to Holland and then to Denmark, where he became chaplain to the King, and died in that service in 1550. The other two, Fife and Macdowal, after having staid some time in England, took shelter in Saxony likewise, where Fife held a Professorship some years at Leipstick, and came back an old man to his own country. But Macdowal rose to be a Butgomaster in one of their principal towns, and never returned. These first reformers of ours, as we may now call them, were, we see, all of the Lutheran model, which was the first draught of the reforming

LETTER ing scheme ; and even Buchanan himself, in his
 XXIX. accounts of these times, plainly calls it Luthera-
 ~~~~~ nism that the new believers were accused of. It is  
 true that, some years before this, the partizans of  
 Luther, who by this time were become both nu-  
 merous and powerful, had in a joint body and with  
 A.D. 1529. all requisite formality *protested* against an impe-  
 rial edict passed at Spires by the Emperor's de-  
 puty Ferdinand, which they conceived to be inju-  
 rious to their civil and religious liberties, and an  
 encroachment upon their privileges, both as chris-  
 tians, and as constituent members of the Ger-  
 manic body. And from this deed of *Protest* it  
 is, that the Lutherans now began among them-  
 selves to be distinguished by that title, which all  
 dissenters from the Romish church by degrees  
 assumed, and to this day glory in the compre-  
 hending name of *Protestants*. But at the time  
 I am speaking of, this title had not reached  
 our country, tho' the Lutheran principles had ;  
 and it was only these principles that our separa-  
 tists from the established church then knew. The  
 use and application of this observation will appear  
 as we go along, when we come in course to take  
 a view of a subsequent plan of reformation, almost  
 as different from Luther's, as Luther's was from  
 Rome.

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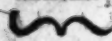
*State of Ecclesiastical Affairs in England——**Henry VIII. throws off the Pope's Supremacy, and is acknowledged as Head of the English Church**——Tendency in Scotland towards Reformation**——Prevented by the Clergy's Influence with the King, and by the Zeal of Cardinal Beton**——Death of James V.——Proceedings of the**Protestants in Germany——Account of John Cal-**vin, and his Model of a Church at Geneva——**Of Ignatius Loyola, and his Institution of the order of Jesuits.*

IN the preceding letter, I have taken notice of some of our religious refugees meeting with protection in England, from which it would appear that their opinions began to be more openly countenanced there, than at home. The reason of this, it will be proper that we enquire into, and take



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take a short view of ecclesiastical affairs in the neighbouring kingdom, in order to throw some more light on those of our own. The sceptre of England was at this time swayed by Henry VIII. uncle by the mother's side to our King. He was a younger son, and had been bred by his father Henry VII. with a view to the church, by which means, being endued with great natural parts, he had early acquired more insight than is usual for a Prince, into the dogmatical points of religion, which were then the chief study of all that expected preferment in that way. But his elder brother Arthur dying within a few months after his marriage with the Princess Catherine of Arragon, and the father who was a money-loving man, not inclining to refund the large portion which Catherine had brought with her, the young Henry, now Prince of Wales, and scarce fifteen years of age, was forced by his father, much against his own inclination, as is universally acknowledged, to marry the widow Princess, and succeed his brother in his bed, as he was like to do to his crown. To bring about this political match, which for the novelty of it among christians could not be but much scrupled at, a dispensation was thought absolutely necessary, and accordingly was procured from Pope Julius II. at an adequate price. In the year 1509 Henry ascended the throne, and even then expressed some uneasiness about the validity of his marriage, till his counsellors made him sensible how requisite it was for the convenience of his affairs to ratify and adhere to it.

When Luther's opinions began to make a noise, Henry entered the lists against him, and wrote on the Pope's side with great virulence, and with as much appearance of argument as the cause would bear,

bear; for which piece of service Leo honoured LETTER  
 him with the title of *Defender of the Faith*, which XXX.  
 his successors retain to this day. But Luther was  
 not the man to be frightened by this royal attack,  
 or to let slip such a noble opportunity of displaying  
 his talents for disputation. He wrote to Henry  
 in a style of great freedom, and, as even his friends  
 complained, with more asperity of language than  
 was necessary for his cause, or suitable to the dig-  
 nity of his opponent. However Henry was not si-  
 lenced. He replied to Luther with greater bitter-  
 ness than before, and at the same time wrote to  
 the elector of Saxony to drive Luther out of his  
 dominions, and quell these pernicious heresies, by  
 all the means that God had put in his power.  
 This paper war continued four years, from 1521  
 to 1525, and shews Henry's ability in these mat-  
 ters, whatever politicians may think of his prudence  
 in stooping to a controversy of this kind. That  
 the attention he had paid to it, might have open-  
 ed his eyes to see absurdities where he had not  
 seen any before, is at least highly probable, as it  
 was the case with many others of lower rank, who  
 were engaged in this controversy. But however  
 this may be, we are certain, that within a few years  
 after this contest, Henry began to entertain scruples  
 about the lawfulness of his marriage with his bro-  
 ther's widow. His first application on this head Collier:  
 was to his own Bishops and clergy, who all, ex-  
 cept Fisher Bishop of Rochester, unanimously de-  
 clared under their hands and seals that they deem-  
 ed the King's marriage unlawful. Indeed when it  
 was debated in council on his accession, Warham  
 Archbishop of Canterbury strenuously opposed it,  
 as being incestuous, contrary to the law of God,  
 and consequently not to be dispensed with; while

**LETTER** on the other hand, Fox Bishop of Winchester insisted on the Pope's authority as sufficient to render the dispensation valid, and like a true politician added such other reasons of state as at that time were decisive. Notwithstanding of this concurrence of opinion from his own clergy in his favour, Henry finding that Catharine stood stiff to her title of Queen, resolved to apply to Pope Clement VII. and accordingly sent Knight his secretary to move his suit in the court of Rome, and obtain a divorce. The Pope, being at that time the Emperor's prisoner, was willing to make a friend of Henry, and gave his envoy as favourable an answer as he could desire. But soon after, on a lucky turn in his affairs, he artfully delayed the performance of what he had promised for some time, till on the King's repeated importunities he at last granted a commission to Cardinal Wolsey the King's favourite, in conjunction with the Archbishop of Canterbury, or any other English Prelate, to examine into the affair, giving at the same time a provisional dispensation for the King's marrying any other person, and promising to expedite a decretal Bull for annulling his marriage with Catharine. When these proceedings came to the Emperor's ears, who was Catharine's nephew, he so wrought upon the Pope by menaces at one time, and fair proffers of friendship at another, that nothing was done to purpose in the business, after all the lengths that had been gone in the King's favour. So he was obliged to dispatch new agents to Rome, of whom Gardiner the afterwards famous Bishop of Winchester, was one, to bring the matter to a conclusion one way or other. On which the Pope in May 1529 issued a new commission to one of his own Cardinals Campegio, along with Wolsey to take cognizance of



of the cause, but reserving the final determination LETTER  
XXX.  
to himself in consistory. Accordingly Campegio came to England, and he and Wolsey called the King and Catharine before them. At this meeting Catharine maintained the lawfulness and indissolubleness of her matrimonial union with Henry, which had now subsisted twenty years, and having been taught her lesson by the Emperor and Pope both, she protested against any decision of that court, and appealed to Rome: Then rising up, she made a low reverence to the King, left the court, and would no more appear in it. The trial was designedly spun out till July, and then the Pope, having settled matters with the Emperor, laid hold on Catharine's appeal, suspended the commission of the Legates, recalled the cause to Rome, and sent private orders to Campegio to burn the Bull of dissolution, with which he was intrusted. When the accounts of this came to England in October, it put an end to all the hopes which the King had so anxiously cherished, and effected the ruin of Wolsey, whose ungrateful shuffling and infidelity in the business, the King had discovered, and could not forgive.

Being thus disappointed in his expectations from the Pope, who had so long played fast and loose with him, the next step which Henry took was, on a hint started by Dr Thomas Cranmer, fellow of Jesus college in Cambridge, to consult the several most famous universities in Europe on the subject, who all, in concurrence with numbers of learned divines, gave it as their judgment that Henry's marriage with his brother's widow was contrary to the law of God, and therefore not to be dispensed with, by any human authority. When Clement heard of this, being still under



**LETTER** the Emperor's influence, he summoned Henry to  
**XXX.** appear, either in person or by proxy, before his  
 tribunal at Rome. But the King, having sensibly  
 experienced the iniquity of that court, and look-  
 ing on this citation as a high insult on the dig-  
 nity of his crown, was now determined to be de-  
 luded no longer: And having called a convoca-  
 tion of his own clergy in 1532, he got a sentence  
 pronounced by them, declaring his marriage with  
 Catharine contrary to the law of God, and there-  
 fore null and of no force. About this time Arch-  
 bishop Warham died, and was succeeded by Dr.  
 Cranmer upon the King's presentation, and with  
 the Pope's consent, who sent him the usual Bulls  
 for consecration: And now, to finish this long  
 contended process, the new Archbishop, assisted  
 by Bishop Gardiner and others, proceeded to a  
 judicial dissolution of the marriage with Catharine,  
 and pronounced a divorce between the King and  
 her on the 23d of May 1533. After which she  
 was treated only as Princess Dowager of Wales,  
 and lived privately at Kimbolton, where she died  
 three years after this, in the fiftieth year of her  
 age.

I have dwelt the longer on this affair of Henry  
 VIII. because, however foreign it may seem to my  
 main design, it was an introduction to the religi-  
 ous intercourse which we now see beginning to  
 open between the two nations; and as it is thought  
 to have paved the way for the reformation in both  
 countries, has therefore been represented by Popish  
 writers in the most odious light. The character  
 of Catharine has been urged to confirm the ju-  
 stice of her claim. She is said to have been a  
 most pious and virtuous woman, and by Henry's  
 own confession to have been one of the best of  
 wives,

wives; all which may be allowed, and yet without LETTER any injury to her character, her insisting so stily XXX. on her title may be supposed to have been owing as much to a willingness to serve her nephew's ambitious views, or to a superstitious reverence for every decision of the Papal oracle, which she believed infallible, as to any real inward conviction of the King's injustice in endeavouring to annul it. But the great topic of scandal against Henry in this affair is his attachment to Ann Bullen, whom we are told, he had set his affections upon, and therefore wished to get rid of Catharine, to make room for this new connection. And yet it is certain, from the history of Ann Bullen's life, that, however much he was attached to her when he saw her, he had declared his scruples, and begun the process, some years before he could have seen that lady. So that whatever influence she might have had over him to hasten the divorce, which yet was a work of six years agitation, and not hurried with the precipitancy usual in such criminal cases, neither he nor she can be charged with unlawful desires, as the cause of beginning the process. But whatever may be said for or against the other parties, how is the Pope, that dernier judge, as some suppose, of right and wrong, to be justified for his conduct all the time that the plea was depending? If he knew it to be unjust, why did he not speak out at first, and peremptorily forbid any application on that score? On the other hand, if he thought Henry's proposals equitable, as he frequently gave him ground to believe that he did, might he not have humoured him with a good grace, as had been done by his predecessors before, and has been done by his successors since,

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LETTER on occasions not a whit more plausible than the  
 XXX. present? \* Upon the whole, it is not a little sur-

\* There had been two late instances, even in Henry's own days, of the same condescension that he was now a petitioner for. In 1490 Beatrix of Naples and Queen Dowager of Hungary, had married Ladislaus, son of Casimir King of Poland, who by virtue of that marriage got possession of the Hungarian throne: And yet within ten years, Ladislaus growing weary of her, applied for a divorce to Pope Alexander VI. who, in full consistory, pronounced a sentence, declaring that, notwithstanding of the answers and protests of the Ambassadors of Naples, the marriage between Ladislaus and Beatrix was null and void, and commanding Beatrix to keep a perpetual silence, and pay a fine of 25000 ducats besides. The other instance was nearer Henry's own doors, and undoubtedly within his knowledge. Lewis XII. of France, had when Duke of Orleans been married to Jean of France, sister to his predecessor Charles VIII. and had cohabited with her ten or twelve years: But upon his coming to the crown as collateral heir in 1498, having no children by his wife, and being desirous of getting possession of the duchy of Bretagne which belonged in heritage to the Queen Dowager Ann his brother-in-law's widow, application was made to the Pope Alexander, who, by the persuasion of Cardinal d'Amboise the King's prime minister, a more faithful servant to Lewis than Wolsey in a like business was to Henry, and upon promise of a handsome pension to the Pope's son Caesar Borgia, divorced Lewis from Jean without assigning any reason, and authorised him to marry the Dowager Queen, which he accordingly did. Here were two examples for Henry to have pled as a King, and Clement to have followed as a Pope. Only it would seem, from Henry's bad success, that he had either forgot or neglected the powerful argument of money, which Lewis had to such good purpose made use of, and trusted too much to the equity of his suit and weight of his own influence. However it appears the consequences of denying his request had taught the Popes in after-times to be more cautious how they dealt with crowned heads in marriage-matters. For towards the end of the century we are engaged in, the then Pope Clement VIII. without any hesitation formally dissolved the marriage of Henry IV. of France with Margaret of Valois, tho' it had been as formally confirmed and all obstacles dispensed with by Gregory XIII. and the King married Mary of Medicis, Clement's niece, which was another  
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prizing that there should have been such a strange <sup>LETTER</sup> bustle about this step of Henry VIII. as if it had <sup>XXX.</sup> been so detestable in itself, or so unprecedented in practice. Protestant writers, before they can consistently condemn it, should acknowledge that marrying a brother's widow is allowable by the law of God, or, if not, that it may be made lawful by the Pope's authority, which ought not to be called in question : And papists would do well to remember how many favours of that kind have been granted by their Popes on as slender grounds, and to as undeserving persons as in the present case ; so that if divorces, at any time and in any circumstances, be lawful, with liberty to the petitioning party to marry again, it will not be easy to show cause why the *Defender of the Popish Faith* might not have been gratified in his even alledged scruples as well as others : If otherwise, let these casuists take their own divorcing Popes into the reckoning with the rebellious Henry, and pass what sentence they please upon both.

But the truth is, it is not so much the divorce itself, whether just or unjust, as the unwelcome doings that attended it and followed upon it, which have raised that dreadful storm of obloquy against Henry from the Romish quarter. The Pope was both artful and timid, willing enough to gain or secure friends by dissimulation, but afraid of creating enemies by any open and decisive measure. Henry on the other hand was plain and determined in his purposes, one who stood much upon the dignity of his character, and the prerogatives of his crown. With these dispositions, when he found what a

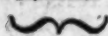
favourable circumstance that Henry of England had not thought of, or was not lucky enough to have in his power,

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Collier,  
b. i. p. 61.

game the court of Rome was intending to play in a business, where he could not but think he had a good right to be indulged as other monarchs had been, he began, even before the final rupture, to exert some part of his royal authority, and to let the Pope and his partizans see betimes what he could and would do, if he was provoked. Thus in the year 1530 he stretched the act of præmunire, which had been passed in former reigns, to such a length against the Bishops, for procuring bulls from Rome, that they were obliged to come to a composition, and to pay a hundred thousand pounds of fine. About the same time he called a parliament and a convocation, and got himself to be acknowledged by both as *Sole Protector* and *Supreme Head* of the church of England. Yet this convocation had not thrown off their former connexion with the Pope, as appears from their dating all their publick deeds in such and such a year "of the pontificate of our most holy Father and Lord, Clement by divine providence Pope, of that name the seventh," tho' in the body of these deeds, after bestowing high panegyrics on their most excellent and illustrious King and Lord Henry, for so valiantly defending the church both by his sword and pen against the Lutheran hereticks, they "recognosce his Majesty to be the singular Protector, the only and supreme Lord, and as far as is consistent with the law of Christ, even the supreme Head of the church of England." And tho' Tonstal Bishop of Durham entered a humble protest against this title, his scruples seem to have been not so much against the matter as the form of it, especially in the expression "quantum per Christi legem licet; as far as is lawful by, or consistent with, the law of Christ," which he was afraid

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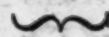
malignants might take in an affirmative and universal sense, tho' in a limiting or restrictive sense he had no objection to it. LETTER XXX.

It was a Popish Convocation, therefore, at least not a Protestant one, which first passed this offensive compliment to the King of England: And whatever force of argument may be pertinently brought against the sound of it, by the lovers of primitive antiquity, one should think the Romanists had least reason of any to object to, or cry out against it. The Pope himself, some few years before this, had dubbed this same Henry, *Defender of the Faith*: And was not this in some sort paving the way for what followed? For who was so proper to defend the faith of the church as her Head? Or who so proper to be her Head; as such an eminent Defender of her Faith? The Popes themselves had long assumed the title of *Headship*, and in that character had declared it to be, and claimed it as, their peculiar privilege, to defend the faith of the church by the paramount authority of their See, and by this claim they had established a kind of synonymy or identity between the two terms. And might not one of Henry's disposition, when a Pope had flattered him with one of his peculiar titles, be thereby led to think, that he had a right to the other also? That none but Christ can be Head of Christ's Church, is not only ascertained by scripture and an established maxim of religion, but even flows from the very sound of the expression: And in the strict sense, neither Pope nor King, indeed no created being, can pretend to it. But there have been so many distinctions brought in, and so many foreign additions tacked to the word *Church*, as have quite confused the pure and primitive notion of it, and

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made it possible to impugn or justify any or all of the many various definitions that have been made use of on this subject. Of this sort is that current division of the things of the church into *Spirituals* and *Temporals*, which Bishop Tonstal in his protestation takes notice of, where he says, that "in one sense, if temporal and earthly things be understood, the King may, consistently with the law of Christ, be supreme Head, as being above all, and having no superior: But, if spirituals be understood, the King may not be the supreme Head of the church, because that is not consistent with the law of Christ." This has always been esteemed an irrefragable argument, and a sufficient solution of all the difficulties, in which this matter is involved; and yet, when duly examined, there is not perhaps so much strength or weight in it, as at first sight it may be thought to bear. For, in strict propriety of speech, the church has no temporals: "My kingdom is not of this world," excludes any such pretension. She is always said to be a spiritual society, instituted for spiritual purposes, and governed by spiritual laws, under her divine and infallible Head, JESUS CHRIST. And what temporal things her servants or ministers of any rank stand in need of, or are furnished with, for their temporal sustenance, are only adventitious donations, and so far from being essential to her constitution, that they are many times, and in many cases, an incumbrance upon it. What is purely spiritual, therefore, about the church, and all that is truly to be called the church is so, no King that I know of, not even the over-bearing Henry VIII. ever pretended to. But when, what did not belong to her as church, came

came to be so blended into her frame as to make a very material part of her description, so very material indeed, that temporals were thought as essential an ingredient in her composition as spirituals, it was no wonder that temporal powers claimed a Headship over a body made up of such opposite and incoherent mixtures. And was not this too much the case at the period we are now looking back to? What was it that was then generally called the church, and so warmly stood up for as such? Was it not the possessions and temporalities, the lands and lordships, which her servants were enriched or rather burthened with? And was it not always a principal article of accusation against the different hereticks, as they were called, of those days, that they had the impudence to maintain, "that the church ought to have no temporals?" I do not mean to fasten this incongruity as a peculiar tenet upon the Popish church, either then or now: I know well enough, it is a darling notion with all churches, at least in these western parts, "a heaven indeed that leaveneth the whole lump." And however much I may be ridiculed for it, I cannot help regretting, and almost pitying, many able writers, who argue very fluently, and with great strength of demonstration, for the independence of the church upon the state, when I see them so very much straitened how to reconcile this favourite notion with that independence. What views Henry might have had in demanding, or what these Popish Bishops might have meant by giving him, that heterogeneous title, is none of our concerns. Only though, in my own sense of the church, I am far from approving it in any mortal man whatever, yet, in consequence of the then prevailing, and still current, description of

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**LETTER** that society, as established by, and incorporated  
**XXX.** into the state, I do not see why Henry VIII. or  
 any other sovereign, in his own dominions, may  
 not bear the title, as it now stands, and be the  
 Head of the Lords Spiritual as well as of the  
 Temporal.

But to proceed: When intelligence was conveyed to Rome, that Henry had divorced Catharine, and married Anne Bullen, the whole Conclave was in an uproar, and the Imperial Cardinals urged the Pope to extremities. Accordingly, a Consistory was held, and a sentence published, March the twenty third 1534, declaring Henry's marriage with Catharine firm and valid, and ordering him, under pain of final excommunication, to take her again as his lawful wife. Nor was Henry idle at home. His next step brought the clergy, after many tergiversations and softenings, to pass the famous act of submission in 1534. All payments to the Pope were now discharged, appeals to him prohibited, under severe penalties, and all his bulls, provisions, and dispensations, utterly abolished. In short, the whole of the papal authority was entirely suppressed, and an oath imposed upon the clergy, to balance their former oaths of obedience to the Pope, asserting the King to be the Supreme Head of the Church of England, and that the Bishop of Rome has no more jurisdiction than any other Bishop.

Thus matters stood in England, when the Scotsmen I spoke of, fled to it for refuge from the papal persecution at home, tho' for other reasons, as we shall see afterwards, they did not long find that safety in it which they expected. Meantime, the inquisition went on in Scotland, and numbers of both sexes were cited before the ecclesiastical  
 courts

courts upon the score of heresy, of whom some recanted, and many suffered. About this time too, the King had a contest with the Bishops about the institution of the College of Justice; which he was now projecting, and for the support of it, proposed to lay a tax upon the Prelates. But as taxing the clergy was deemed a matter of spiritual cognizance, appeal was made to Rome, and Bishop Dunbar of Aberdeen was dispatched to manage the cause there. The affair, however, was at last adjusted by an agreement, on these terms, that the Senate should consist of Fourteen Ordinaries, with a President, seven of the spirituality and seven of the temporality, the President being always of the spiritual estate, and a Prelate constituted in dignity.\* There are extant, two bulls, or indults as they are called, of the Popes, in favour of this institution. The first is from Clement VII. in 1531, granting liberty to the King to raise ten thousand ducats from the clergy for that purpose, but with this superfluous proviso, that this indult was to be of force "only while the said James, and his successors, continued in the faith, obedience, and devotion of the Aposto-

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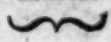
Spot. p.68.

\* Buchanan, in his account of this institution, about forty years after, says, that "tho' at first many plausible steps were taken for the equitable administration of justice, yet people's expectations were not answered, and it was thought an unprecedented measure, and even an unwarrantable stretch of prerogative, thus to commit the disposal of people's property to the sole arbitrement of fifteen men, whose power," he says, "was perpetual, and their government the next thing to tyranny." The experience of two hundred years, since Buchanan wrote, is the best proof what foundation there is for, or justice in, his censure. The design was certainly praise-worthy, and the continuance of it, thro' so many changes and revolutions, demonstrates the public sense of its usefulness.

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LETTER "lic See." His Holiness, it seems, did not reflect, that if ever that obedience should be thrown off, as it soon was, the consent of the apostolic See would not be asked for such an imposition, as indeed in money-matters it can never be proved to have been necessary. The other bull is from Paul III. in 1535, modifying the above sum to "fourteen hundred pounds of the usual money of Scotland, making three hundred and fifty pounds sterling, or thereby," which, by the bye, shews the proportion between the two currencies at that time. Besides this, the same Pope had, the year before, on his entry to the Pontificate, complimented the King, during his life, with a year's revenue of all the churches and monasteries within the kingdom, that were in the crown's gift, as they severally should fall vacant.

These kindnesses, it is thought, influenced the King to give way so easily to the prosecutions, which were carried on with such rigour against the new doctrines, and to shew his gratitude, by enforcing the old penal laws, and enacting new ones, in support of the papal power. To this purpose, in the Parliament 1535, an act passed, "ratifying and approving the statute made by his highness, in his Parliament 1525, against them that hold, dispute, or rehearse the damnable opinions of the great Heretic Luther, his disciples and followers." And another of the same date, against them "that sustain the practices of cursing," that is, lie under the church's censure, without giving satisfaction by the space of forty days: Yea, so zealous was the King this way, that to discourage the holding of conventions for disputing on the scriptures, rewards were offered to any who would discover such conventions,

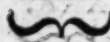
tions, and inform against the Heretics : And to LETTER  
secure the old subjection to the Pope, it was made XXX.  
death, and confiscation of goods, to argue against,   
or in the least impugn, his authority within the  
realm. By orders of this Parliament too, a na-  
tional council was held the next year, at Edin- A.D. 1536.

burgh; by the Archbishop of St. Andrews, under  
the stale pretence of reformation of manners, and  
restoring of discipline, which it seems there was  
great need for at this time : For there is a statute  
extant, bearing, “ that the unhonefty and mis-  
“ rule of kirkmen, both in wit, knowledge, and  
“ manners, is the cause that the kirk and kirk-  
“ men are lightlied and contemned ; therefore the  
“ King exhorts and prays all Archbishops, Bi-  
“ shops, Ordinaries, and other Prelates, to re-  
“ form themselves, their obedientiars and kirk-  
“ men under them, in habit and manners, to God  
“ and man, and if any will not obey nor obtem-  
“ per to their superior, the King’s Grace shall  
“ find remeid theirfor at the Pope’s Holiness, &c.”

That the King had views of a reformation is  
acknowledged by historians ; and we are told, that  
at one time he called some of the clergy to him,  
and ordered them to get them to their charges and  
reform their own lives, otherwise, says he “ I vow  
“ to God, I shall reform you not by imprisonment  
“ as the King of Denmark does, nor as my uncle  
“ of England by heading and hanging, but I shall  
“ reprove you by sharp and severe punishments,  
“ &c.” Whatever truth be in these private ac-  
counts, the above act of parliament is a publick  
declaration of the King’s intentions, and shews  
how flagrant the misbehaviour of the clergy must  
have been, when a young man like him, not much  
above twenty four years of age, and not too rigid-  
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Keith's  
Hist. b. i.  
p. 18.

ly strict in his own conduct, took such offence at it, and was obliged to push so vigourously for a reformation of it. At the same time his threatening to seek remeid from the Pope was not the likeliest method to obtain the proposed end, as it was the general complaint then, and had been for many years, not only among the Lutherans, but even over all Europe, that the *Head* needed reformation as much as the members. Yet the King's care in his station was in so far commendable, and if it had been seconded properly by those to whose hands such business officially lay, there had not been, in all probability, such a jumble of disorder and irregularity as broke out soon after his death. Indeed about this time he was in great esteem with the neighbouring Princes. The Pope sent him a consecrated cap and sword: The Emperor and King of France complimented him with the orders of their several Knighthoods: And his uncle Henry, who had offended the Emperor, and fallen under the Pope's displeasure, courted his friendship by repeated embassies and pressing solicitations. Twice he proposed an interview between them either at York or Newcastle, and made James most splendid offers to induce him to it. But the clergy, dreading the consequences of such a meeting, which they justly suspected might be prejudicial to their attachments, exerted all their influence to prevent it, and at last prevailed, by the never-failing argument of a considerable gratuity in hand, and a promise of their whole revenues to be at his service, in case of any future exigencies. True it is, the behaviour of some of the English monarchs on such occasions, in former times, was not very encouraging to James to accept of this invitation, even from an uncle: And however generous in-  
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tentions Henry might really have had at this time, LETTER for his nephew's good, (as hitherto, even after ~~XXX.~~ his great victory at Flowden, he had acted towards this kingdom with a generosity that does honour to his memory,) or whatever politic views he might have had towards his own security, it cannot be denied that the clergy had too good a handle of these former instances, and could with great plausibility cover their main objection under such a specious pretence.

The King was now in the flower of his age, and being the only hope of his family, he began to look out for a proper match to preserve the succession in the right line, and in January 1537 married Magdalen, daughter to Francis I. of France. This marriage, it is said, alarmed the clergy not a little, as the lady had been bred under her aunt the then Queen of Navarre, who had imbibed some of the new doctrines, and was a great friend to the Protestants. But this alarm was not of long continuance. For Magdalen died in the July after, and the next year the King married Mary of Guise, the Duke of Longueville's widow, which gave new life to the churchmen, from the known attachment of the family of Guise to the old forms. Another incident too in their favour was the death of the old Archbishop of St An- A.D. 1538. drews, and the advancement of his nephew, the famous Cardinal Beton, to the primacy, who was then in the prime of life, and whether more inclined or not, was in many respects more capable to quell the supposed enemies of the church than his old superannuated uncle had been.

The first act of the Cardinal after his promotion Spotf. p. 69. was a sufficient specimen of his intentions: For he was not well warmed in his seat, when to display

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his grandeur he brought to St. Andrews a splendid company of Earls and Lords, with five or six Bishops, besides Abbots, and a number of Deans, Priors, and Doctors of divinity: Who being all convened in the cathedral, he began to hold forth the danger which the church was in, by the increase of hereticks, and the boldness with which they professed their opinions openly, even in the King's court, where, he said, they found too great countenance. He particularly named Sir John Borthwick, whom he had cited to that diet for dispersing heretical books, and maintaining diverse articles contrary to the doctrines of the Romish church, desiring their assistance in the procedure of justice against him. The articles he was charged with were all of the old offensive cast, with the addition of this new one, that he said "the heresies commonly called the heresies of England and their new liturgy, were commendable and to be embraced of all christians, and that the church of Scotland ought to be governed after the manner of the English:" From which we may observe what an eye-sore the communion of the English church, even in that imperfect stage of reformation, was to the papal courts of those days. Both the English martyrologist Fox, and our own historian Spotswood, give us a full account of the trial and accusation of this Sir John Borthwick. But Knox in his history, on purpose to keep this strong testimony in favour of the church of England out of sight, huddles up the whole process with a bare mention of his name amidst other lesser matters, contrary to that writer's custom in cases of a like nature. When the accusation was read, Sir John was called upon for form's sake. But not appearing, the libel was held as confessed, and he denounced

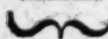
nounced an heretick, his goods ordained to be confiscated, himself burnt in effigy if he could not be apprehended in person, and every one inhibited to harbour him under the pain of curfing and forfeiture. The gentleman hearing of these proceedings, fled into England, where he was kindly received by Henry, and by him employed in a commission to the Protestant Princes of Germany, for a mutual confederacy in defence of their common profession. Ten years after this he was sent by Edward VI. on an embassy to the King of Denmark about a marriage for the lady Elizabeth: But what became of him afterwards, or whether he returned to his own country, we are not told.

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Not satisfied with this appearance of severity, the Cardinal next prevailed with the King to grant commission to a Sir James Hamilton of Finnard, a natural brother of the Earl of Arran, and a cruel ambitious man, to convene before him all persons suspected of heresy, and punish them as he pleased. But this bloody commission was of short continuance: For the zealous inquisitor himself soon fell into a fatal snare, and being convicted of a plot against the King's life, was condemned to lose his head, before he had time to answer the clergy's expectations in his new office. Yet they still retained their influence over the King, whether owing to his own necessities or to the Queen's interest with him, is hard to say; and to such a degree had they carried this influence, as to estrange him from the nobility, and in a great measure to drive them from the court. Indeed this is to be said for the King, that being a man of deep judgment and great penetration, and finding few of the principal nobility capable to serve him for want of education and letters, he saw himself obliged to make



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Hist. p. 24.

use of the clergy, and of gentlemen of inferior rank, whose circumstances in the world required them to cultivate their minds with learning, in order to obtain preferment. This we learn from a letter of Mr Sadler, who was ambassador here from Henry VIII. to a privy-counsellor of England, where he says, "To be plain with you, I see none among the Scots nobility that hath any such agility of gravity, wit, learning or experience, to take in hand the direction of things, so that the King is of force driven to use the Bishops and clergy as his only ministers for the direction of his realm: They be the men of wit and policy that I see here." If this be true, (and Mr Sadler was a competent judge) it seems to vindicate the King from the imputation he lies under of disregarding his nobles, and shews that he was not so much to blame for that conduct towards them, which, whatever was the cause of it, soon produced most lamentable effects.

For his uncle Henry of England, finding his expectations of an interview so often frustrated, and being much chagrined at the repeated disappointment, resolved at last to take other measures; and for that purpose he sent a great army under the Duke of Norfolk, to the borders of Scotland; which, however, after burning a few hamlets, returned in a short time to their own country. Our King, having gathered an army of thirty thousand men, and irritated at this provoking insult, was very desirous to have followed Norfolk into England: But being advanced as far as Falamuir, and there finding an averseness in the Nobility from proceeding farther, and suspecting a design among them to cut off some of his principal favourites, he dismissed the army, and returned to Edin-

Edinburgh in great discontent. Soon after, he <sup>LETTER</sup> again determined to prosecute his scheme, and <sup>XXX.</sup> sent out his private letters to summon the Nobility, with their dependents and followers, to meet him at such a place. This summons was readily obeyed, and a second army convened. But when, on the appearance of a few English troopers, who had been hastily raised on such a surprise, our army wished to know who was to command them as lieutenant under the King, and found that honour conferred on Oliver Sinclair, a private gentleman of the family of Roslin, (which yet is said to have been a mistake), the old nobility were so affronted at this indignity put upon them, that the greatest part of them willingly surrendered themselves to the small handful of English that appeared against them, without making so much as a shew of either resistance or defence.

Keith's  
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The news of this shameful loss at the Solway-marshes, which separate the two kingdoms on the West border, being brought to the King, who was at Carlaverock, about twelve miles distance, he became extremely disconsolate, and in great apprehension of a conspiracy, returned next day to Edinburgh. From thence he went to his palace at Falkland in Fife, where he gave himself up entirely to melancholy, and in this condition being told that the Queen was delivered of a daughter at Linlithgow, he was so oppressed with grief and corroding thoughts of various kinds, that in a few days after he expired on the thirteenth of December 1542, having lived thirty years, and some months, and leaving an infant heiress only a few days old. If we were to form a character of him, by comparing his censurer Buchanan with his panegyrist Bishop Leslie, the two historians

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torians who were cotemporary with him, we might justly say, "it was a pity his life had been so short." His being so much under the management of Cardinal Beton seems indeed to have been his ruin. What might have been the consequence of the personal conference, so often proposed, with his uncle, we cannot say. As things then stood, it was a step not to be rashly taken: And his daughter's sorrowful experience afterwards may in a good measure justify her father's averseness from the flattering, but dangerous proposal.

The next reign will open up to us a full view of the *Reformation* in Scotland. But before we enter on this interesting scene, it will be proper that we consider how the business was going on in Germany, which was the first stage of that arduous undertaking: The last transaction that we mentioned of the Lutheran party was their protesting against the edict of Spire in the year 1529, which is the origin of the title of *Protestants*. The next year the Protestant Princes met at Smalcalde, a city in Franconia, from an apprehension they had conceived, that the Emperor designed their utter ruin; and here they solemnly engaged themselves in a strict union to stand by one another, against all that should molest them in the exercise of their religion, and invited all the protestant cities of Germany to enter into the league. The same year they presented to the Emperor and states of the empire, assembled at Augsberg in Swabia, a confession of their faith, which was principally drawn up by Melancthon, and is called the Augustan confession, or confession of Augsberg. It is divided into two parts. The first part is an explication of their own doctrines, and consists of twenty one chapters. The  
second

second part is an exprefs confutation of the seven LETTER capital errors of the Romish church, which they **XXX.** found their separation upon, viz. Communion in one kind, forced celibacy of Priests, private masses, auricular confession, legendary traditions, monastic vows, and the excessive power of the church. The diet being for the most part of the Popish persuasion, would not admit the public reading of this confession, which the protestants strongly pressed for: But with the Emperor's consent, a conference was appointed to be held upon it, by an equal number of divines of both professions. On the first part they reasoned pretty amicably, and by concessions and explanations came to some kind of an agreement about fifteen of the twenty one articles. But in the second part, there was no such thing as yielding or altering on either side: So that after much altercation the conference came to nothing, and both parties left the meeting, equally tenacious of their own opinions.

The next year the Protestants met a second time at Smalcalde, where they renewed their former confederacy, and sent delegates with a representation of their case to the Kings of France and England, both of whom received the application favourably, and gave assurance of their friendship. This union of the protestants had such an effect, that in a convention at Norimberg in the year 1532, the Emperor thought proper, by a decree, to grant them liberty of religion, and to prohibit their meeting with any trouble on that account, till a general council should be called, which the Protestants always demanded, and the Emperor declared he was still interceeding with the Pope to grant. About this time too, the



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the furious madness of the Anabaptists began to break out in Germany, which the Romanists would have been imputing to the new doctrines, tho' it is certain none were more zealous in suppressing these dangerous commotions than Luther and his followers. In the year 1537 Pope Paul made a pretence of convocating a general council at Mantua in Italy, which was objected to by all parties, and in a little time was given up. However, to make a shew of reformation, he gave a commission to four Cardinals and three Bishops to examine into the complaints about the ecclesiastical administration, and to point out what they thought needed amendment, and how and to what lengths such amendment should go. This the commissioners did, in a long oration addressed to the Pope himself, and in which they ingenuously confess a number of disorders, and propose some faint measures of redress. But all was to no purpose. For the writing, tho' drawn up at the Pope's command, was never formally published, nor any use made of it: And the Pope continued to amuse the Emperor and other Princes with procrastinations and prorogations, from one place to another, and from year to year, having nothing in view but to carry as fair among the lay-powers, as possible, and to put off the meeting of a council at all, by proposing places which, he was sure, would not be accepted.

In this posture stood the religious affairs of Germany at the period we are now come to: The Emperor on the Popish side, and the Protestant confederates on the other, engaged in mutual contentions, and Luther and his companions either disputing in person, or writing, when they  
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saw it necessary, in defence of the reformation LETTER  
 which they had begun, and now saw so happily XXX.  
 advanced. But about this time another reformer  
 appeared, who, not satisfied with Luther's plan,  
 and finding fault with some of his tenets, as fa-  
 vouring too much of the old leaven, designed to  
 set up a model of his own, and thereby to share  
 at least in the reputation and praise which he saw  
 bestowed on Luther and his associates. The new  
 doctrines, as they were called, had before this pe-  
 netrated into many places on the continent, as  
 well as Germany, and amongst the rest into  
 France, where not a few of all ranks, and con-  
 spicuous both for dignity and learning, had em-  
 braced them; and where the King Francis was  
 upon every occasion committing some one or  
 other of them to the flames, while at the same  
 time, for his own ends, he was leaguings with  
 the German Lutherans, and cajoling them even  
 with apologies for such a procedure.

Among the many learned men in France who  
 had become acquainted with the new scheme,  
 was Jean Chauvin, or *John Calvin*, a native of  
 Noyon in Picardy, born in the year 1509, and  
 bred to the civil law, which he studied first at  
 Orleans, and then at Bourges. Having heard,  
 as he grew up, of a reformation beginning, and  
 finding it roughly handled in France, he retired  
 to Basil in Switzerland, where he studied Hebrew.  
 Here he wrote his book of *Institutions* in a good  
 Latin stile, and dedicated it to King Francis, who,  
 in all probability, never looked into it. From  
 thence he went to Italy to the Duchess of Ferrara,  
 sister to the Queen of France, and a lady of great  
 reading and knowledge, who received him kind-  
 ly, as she much favoured that way. His first

LETTER public appearance was at Geneva in the year 1536, XXX. where he was made Professor of divinity, and the next year got all the people to swear solemnly to a confession of faith, containing, among other things, a renunciation of the Pope's authority.— But proceeding further in his regulations than was consistent with the senatorial government of the city, he, with the two preachers Farel and Viret, was ordered to depart out of the town within two days, because they refused the communion to the people, unless they were entirely of Calvin's persuasion. On this he retired to Strasburg, where he set up a French church, and was the first minister of it, tho' there is no certainty that ever he was in holy orders. In the year 1539 he was sent by the divines of Strasburg to assist at a diet which the Emperor had convened at Worms, for composing the religious differences, and there he became acquainted with Melanchthon, with whom he had many communings on the subjects in agitation. But soon after, on a change of affairs in Geneva, he was invited back by the magistrates and people, which invitation he readily accepted, and returned to Geneva in September 1541. The first thing he now did, was to settle a form of discipline and a consistorial jurisdiction, with a power to inflict censures and canonical penances even to excommunication. This was by many complained of, as by much too rigorous, and approaching too near to the old tyranny: But the matter was carried, and this new Canon legally passed in an assembly of all the people, on the twentieth of November 1541, the clergy and laity engaging themselves to an unalterable conformity to it.

Now, as this Genevan model of a church came in



in a short time to be much talked of in the island LETTER  
 of Britain, particularly in our Northern part of it, XXX.  
 we shall here take a short view of it, both in  
 its rise and constitution. The city of Geneva,  
 upon the Lake Lemman, is of great antiquity, and  
 had long been the see of a Bishop, who, like the  
 other Bishops of the Imperial cities of Germany,  
 had a mixt jurisdiction with the civil magistrates  
 who were elected by the community, but was ne-  
 ver absolute Lord or Sovereign of it. The Dukes  
 of Savoy in the neighbourhood oft laid claim to  
 it as a part of their territory, and in defence of  
 its freedom the city was frequently engaged in  
 contentions with these Dukes, and with its own  
 Bishops. Being about this time sore pressed by  
 those powers, the Genevans entered into a confe-  
 deracy with some of the nearest of the Swiss  
 Cantons, among whom the seeds of Reformation  
 had been early sown. For both Oecolampadius  
 at Basil and Zuinglius at Zurich were co-eval with  
 Luther, and had begun the work much about the  
 same time that he did: And tho' both these re-  
 formers agreed with Luther in most of his ar-  
 ticles, especially in his darling and distinguishing  
 tenet of justification by faith only, which all of  
 them reckoned a fundamental article, yet they dif-  
 fered widely from him in the doctrine of the Eu-  
 charist or Lord's Supper, the Lutherans interpre-  
 ting the words of institution, "This is my bo-  
 dy, &c." simply and plainly, and admitting a  
 true presence of the body and blood, along with  
 the bread and wine, which has been amongst them  
 called *Consubstantiation*, while the others have  
 recourse to tropes and figures, and expound the  
 words to mean no more but, "This signifies or  
 is a sign of my body, &c." Thus this Zuinglian



LETTER particularity got footing in Switzerland and its  
 XXX. environs, and Calvin having been early at Basil  
 when but a very young man, and probably while  
 Oecolampadius lived, who died in 1531, might  
 have learned there this diminishing notion, which  
 he afterwards adopted into his doctrinal system,  
 and which constitutes such an irreconcilable distinction  
 between his followers and the Lutherans to this day.

It seems to have been by means of this confederacy, that the Genevans got the first notion of a reformation, which they began in the year 1527, by removing the images out of the churches; and a quarrel happening some time after between their Bishop and them about temporal prerogatives, contributed in end to the full and final establishment of it. For their now Bishop Peter de la Baulme, after having been at his own desire admitted by the community into the list of citizens and free Burghers in 1527, did the very next year leave the town, and, in support of the ambitious claim of his predecessors, made war against it. In 1533 he returned again in company of some of the consuls and senators of Friburg, which then was and still continues a Popish Canton: But having privately made over his pretended sovereignty to the Duke of Savoy, and fearing the resentment of the people, if that private transaction should be known, he departed a second time of his own accord that same year, and never returned. At this time the senate and ruling powers of the town were addicted to Popery, and continued so for two years after the Bishop left it: For in the time of his first absence the senate made a decree for the preservation of the old Religion, and prohibiting to profess or countenance the Lutheran doctrine.

And

And even when the Bishop had withdrawn him-  
 self the last time, many private persons who pro-  
 fessed the reforming principles were driven out of  
 the town, and among them their two preachers  
 Frumentius and Camus. Yea, even in 1534 all  
 manner of preaching was forbidden without the  
 Bishop's licence, and the bibles, whether in French  
 or German, condemned to be burnt: So that any  
 rebellion against the Bishop as temporal Lord of Ge-  
 neva was carried on by Papists, and the reformation,  
 properly so called, does not fall to be charged with  
 it.

However in the year 1535, being better instruc-  
 ted, and finding it convenient for the situation of  
 their affairs, the council of the city by a formal  
 edict abolished the Romish form of religion, and  
 to preserve to posterity a perpetual memorial of  
 their forsaking the superstitions of that corrupt  
 church, they set up an inscription to that purpose  
 engraved in golden letters upon a large plate of  
 copper, which, we are told, remains in their town-  
 house to this day. Yet about two years after, the  
 Duke of Savoy, seeing he could not prevail against  
 the city by force, sent an ambassador to them with  
 great promises of friendship if they would forsake  
 the reformed religion, restore the images, turn out  
 their ministers, and take back their Bishop. To  
 all which they answered, that "for their Bishop,  
 " he should be welcome, so that he would remem-  
 " ber his name and place, and do the work of a  
 " Bishop according to the word of God: But for  
 " the rest, they were to obey God rather than man,  
 " and that as long as Geneva should remember she  
 " was free and consecrated to God alone, it must  
 " not be expected that they would again set up  
 " any thing tending to superstition."

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From all this it evidently appears that when Geneva first reformed, she did not then think it a necessary part of reformation to abolish episcopacy as such, and that if their then Bishop would have concurred with them in the work, there might and would have been a regular episcopacy preserved there, as well as in England. But the Bishop, like most of his brethren prelates of those days, from the Pope downward, preferred the possession of his worldly pomp and grandeur to the execution of his spiritual and truly episcopal office, which it seems they imagined could not or needed not be carried on, when the temporal pillars of it were likely to be shaken. How far it was right in the Genevans to instal Mr. Calvin in the Bishop's room, or in him to take up such an office at his own hand or from their hands, is another question. But as it is acknowledged, that a fault was somewhere-among them, there seems to be sufficient ground for dividing it between the Bishop and the town, and it may be fairly said, that as he did not so much as properly lay to his hand, they did more than lay to theirs. Yet it is certain that while they rejected popery, they did not at first condemn episcopacy as one of the corruptions of it. Even Calvin himself, whatever consequences against episcopacy might have been drawn from his practice, still professed a reverence for the name, and always wrote to and spoke of Bishops in a style which his followers soon thought fit to depart from. It is true, profession and practice do not always agree, and so it was with him. For tho', in the complimenting letters which he wrote to the several Bishops with whom he corresponded, he seems only to find fault with the tyranny, as he called it, and imperious behaviour of the Bishops



shops for some ages past, yet it is clear from the LETTER  
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history of these times, that he himself, from the year 1541, when he was fully settled in the chair at the head of his consistory in Geneva, to the time of his death twenty four years after, acted in as arbitrary a manner, and issued out his decisions and sentences, thro' all the places that had espoused a reformation, with as much dictatorial assurance and approach towards infallibility, as perhaps any of his predecessors of a higher character had ever pretended to.

But while the papal grandeur was thus attacked in that quarter, first by Luther and then by Calvin, these two distinguished heads of two capital denominations, there appeared in another quarter a new and unlooked-for support to it, by the starting up of a singular order of men, as if for that very purpose: an order indeed which, from a very weak beginning, increased with amazing rapidity in a short time, and by monopolizing to themselves the peculiar appellation of the sacred name of JESUS, continued for more than two hundred years to direct not only the ecclesiastical affairs, but even the politics of the greater part of Europe. This society of *Jesuits*, owes its rise to an Ignatius Loyola, a Spanish soldier who was born in the year 1491, and having been confined to his bed by the wounds he had received at the siege of Pampeluna in 1521, betook himself, by way of amusement, to reading the legendary lives of the Romish saints, which gave him a strong inclination to a retired life. On his recovery he went to Rome, and thence on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. At his return he began to study first at Barcelona, then at Alcalá and Salamanca, and in 1528 went to Paris. Here he associated himself to eight or nine more of the  
like



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like stamp, and then going to Rome with his company, he there founded his society, gave them the name of *Jesuits*, and made rules and constitutions for them. Pope Paul III. confirmed this society by word of mouth in 1539, and the year following established it by an authentick Bull.\* But of late years, by a joint complaint from all the Popish powers of Europe against them, for their troublesome and intermeddling spirit, the order was, after a great struggle, totally exauctorated by a formal Bull of the late Pope, and the society dispelled and scattered, where they could best be provided for. The fathers, as they are called, of this society have had perpetual disputes with the other Popish doctors upon two very capital points: 1. Concerning predestination and grace with the Thomists and modern Jansenists, who accuse the Jesuits of Pelagianism, while they on the other hand call them Manichees, and Predestinarians: And 2. About the obligations of morality, which the Jansenists say, the Jesuits miserably corrupt, and where it cannot be denied, their casuistry is extremely easy and indulgent, which no doubt, had been the principal recommendation that introduced them so much to be confessors to the opulent and great. But the chief criterion which always rivetted them so firmly in the Popes good graces, was their keen

\* Because at first their number was designed not to exceed sixty, another Bull was granted in 1543 to take off that restriction. Ignatius himself was their first General, as he was their original founder. He dyed in 1556, and was canonized by Pope Gregory XV. in 1622, at which time the order was possessed of 293 colleges, besides 123 houses, and their number was increased to 10581. In 1710, by a computation then made, they were found to possess 24 professed houses, 59 houses of probation, 340 residences, 612 colleges; 200 missions, 150 seminaries and boarding schools, and consisted of near 20000 members.

and

and unwearied labour in maintaining the infallibi-  
 lity and absolute unlimited power of the Pope in  
 almost every case spiritual or temporal : In which  
 peculiarity of theirs, tho' there were many of the  
 other Romanists who silently differed from them,  
 yet except from the Gallican church they met with  
 little or no public and avowed opposition. It has  
 been shrewdly observed, (perhaps it will be said  
 with more shrewdness than solidity) that much the  
 same Æra produced two of the greatest enemies,  
 tho' upon different principles, that ever primitive  
 episcopacy had to grapple with, Loyola at Rome,  
 and Calvin at Geneva. For whatever regard,  
 either real or pretended, Calvin himself might have  
 expressed for that ancient and apostolic order in the  
 church, it is a fact that his followers, who to this  
 day glory in his name, have always been of all the  
 denominations of protestants, the bitterest opposers  
 and revilers of the sacred Hierarchy. And it is as  
 certain that father Lainez, who was next General  
 of the Jesuits after Loyola, and at the Pope's desire  
 assisted at the council of Trent, did there boldly  
 and openly impugn the independency and autho-  
 rity of the episcopal order, which he impudently  
 maintained was all inherent in and only derived  
 from the Pope's single person, as the whole society  
 continued to assert to the last moment of their ex-  
 istence. So that, whatever antipathy may be  
 thought to subsist between the Calvinists and  
 Jesuits in most other articles, in this one, like He-  
 rod and Pilate on another occasion, they seem to  
 agree as friends; only with this diversity of manage-  
 ment, that what pre-eminence the Calvinist claims  
 to what he calls the Consistory, or in the style of  
 our country, the Presbytery, the Jesuit assigns  
 2 O wholly

LETTER wholly to the Pope : And the original institution  
 XXX. suffers equally from both.

I am, &c.



END OF VOLUME FIRST.

